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THE
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JULY 1898.

ART. I.--WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE.

WHEN one of the foremost figures of English public life has been taken from our midst we are naturally led to look back on the record of his career, to weigh his work in the balance, and pay, when we may, some just tribute to his memory. The task is sometimes a painful duty, sometimes a labour of love; but in either case it is seldom without its difficulties and dangers. When the grave is scarcely closed, criticism or censure is at best ungracious and may often seem malignant; while, on the other hand, the praise bestowed is too often apt to be excessive. The exaggeration of epitaphs is proverbial; and the epitaphs writ more at large in the columns of our journals are no exception. It needs a firm hand and a manly mind to hold an even course, to sacrifice no truth to a false sentiment, and to be just without being ungenerous. It would be easy to find instances which illustrate this difficulty in the multitudinous panegyrics on Mr. Gladstone which have been sounded in the pulpit, on the platform, and in the Press during the past few weeks. Yet, on the whole, a fair estimate has been formed; and, despite some pardonable extravagances and some unseemly sneers, a large measure of justice has been done to the great Liberal leader.

The organs of his own party have sung the praises of their chief, and lingered over the lessons left in his life-work, and
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the encouragement afforded by the memory of his victories. And his opponents have generously paid their tribute to his rare genius and his high character; raising, withal, a word of warning against a policy which, in their eyes, was fraught with danger.

Here, however, we have no concern with mere matters of statecraft or questions of party politics. Like most Englishmen, we may have our own individual views on such subjects, and possibly our own party sympathies and antipathies. But on the present occasion, at least, these would be out of place in these pages. And we would fain regard the career of the dead statesman, as far as may be, from a common Catholic standpoint, which would hardly be possible if we trenched on the thorny ground of party politics. On many of the burning questions involved in Mr. Gladstone's life—notably in the chief controversy agitated in his closing years—Catholics are by no means of one way of thinking; and many of them have been conspicuous in the fray, some as champions, some as vigorous opponents of the Liberal leader's policy. And, strange as it may seem to the superficial observer, this is really no matter of wonder. It is true, indeed, that there is a deep and intimate connection between our religious and civil duties. And on certain broad, far-reaching principles, which form the basis of any sound system of politics, all good Catholics are in unison. These principles are established in the writings of St. Thomas and the other masters of the mediæval school, and illustrated by later moralists and theologians such as Suarez. And in our own days they have been impressed on all the faithful by the authoritative teaching of the Holy Father in his encyclicals on the duties of Christian citizens, and on similar subjects. But when we come to examine them in detail, and still more when we attempt to apply them in practice, there is considerable scope for diversity of opinion.

Were it only for this reason, it might be well to give such party questions a wide berth, and betake ourselves to a loftier and serenèr region. Wherefore, guided by the title of one of his own works, let us consider the statesman in his relations with the Church. What, in a word, was his position in regard to the Church of Christ? Had Catholic doctrines any

hold on his heart? And what part did he take in theological controversy, or in legislation affecting his Catholic countrymen? These are questions which, after all, touch us more nearly than the merits of his Irish legislative measures or the wisdom of his foreign policy. It is, moreover, likely enough that, by looking at this aspect of his career, we shall be enabled to form a fairer estimate of his character as a man and a statesman, than we should by gazing through any Liberal lens or Tory telescope. And here, at any rate, Catholics can regard Mr. Gladstone from a common standpoint.

But before we pass to these questions directly affecting religion, we may say a few words on the acknowledged worth of his legislative labours and on the moral influence of his upright character. If the government of the country is carried on by the party system, happily all acts and measures are not necessarily of a party nature. Both in legislative enactments and in matters of administration, statesmen of both parties alike do much that meets the cordial approval of all candid opponents. In the case of a minister like Mr. Gladstone, who has spent a long life in the public service, the amount of such good work must be very considerable. And even those, who form the most unfavourable judgment on his contested measures, may willingly acknowledge that he has, none the less, deserved well of his countrymen, who, without respect of party, are one and all his debtors. It is well to insist on this, for those parts of public policy which give rise to party controversy are only too likely to claim an undue share of our attention, while much of a statesman's best work is thus overlooked or forgotten. But this is by no means all. Besides the results achieved by labour in the legislature or the cabinet, we have, in justice, to take account of the indirect influence of the statesman's character. Where it is felt that his course throughout is upright and honourable, his example may be a real power for good, even when his policy is most mistaken and his efforts unavailing. And there can be no question that in Mr. Gladstone's case this indirect influence of character was very powerful. A statesman who finds it necessary to change his course, and part from old comrades and the cause for which they have laboured, puts a severe strain upon the loyalty of friends and the good opinion of foemen. For a time, at any rate, he

must look for hard words and sinister interpretations. It was thus with the great Sir Robert Peel, when he "found salvation" on the Catholic question, and again on the Repeal of the Corn Laws. And his faithful disciple Mr. Gladstone had to pass, on more than one occasion, through the same fiery ordeal. But, happily, in both cases the high character of the man triumphed over every accusation, and both friend and foe were fain to acknowledge his honesty of purpose.

It is well to dwell on this aspect of Mr. Gladstone's career, for the moral influence of his character and conduct was by no means the least of his services to the country. We should be loath to make invidious comparisons; but we cannot forget that ministers of State have sometimes had a very different influence on public morals. Even in the case of those whose genius has stood the country in good stead, the boon has often been lessened, or neutralised, by the scandals of their private life, or the laxity of their political principles. It is true that, from various causes, things have been far better of late years, and a minister whose hands are clean from corruption, and whose life is free from the taint of scandal, is, happily, the rule rather than the exception. But while many modern statesmen have laboured to uphold the honour and dignity of public life, Mr. Gladstone's long career, his commanding abilities, and his great personal popularity have made his example more conspicuous. And his influence for good has thus gone further and been more enduring. Other statesmen may have held office for a longer period of time. For though no other Prime Minister has presided over four distinct Administrations, the second Government of Sir Robert Walpole, that of Lord Liverpool, and the first Government of the younger Pitt, have each and all of them exceeded the combined duration of Mr. Gladstone's four Ministries. And though in various positions, from Under-Secretary to Prime Minister, he has had a singularly long lease of office, it falls far short of the forty-five years enjoyed by the old Duke of Newcastle and Lord Palmerston. It is, nevertheless, likely enough that no other man has, for so long a period of time, held the same commanding position in the eyes of his countrymen, or awakened the same amount of deep and widespread popularity. His eloquent advocacy of causes affecting the

welfare of the people has made his name a household word among the masses of his countrymen, and has even attracted general attention to his family and private life. In these democratic days, "that fierce light which beats upon a throne" is reflected from the monarch to her ministers; and much that was once thought to be private has become public property. And this tendency of the times may be said to have reached its climax—not inappropriately—in the life of the late Liberal leader.

Seen him I have ; but in his happier hour
Of social pleasure, ill-exchang'd for pow'r.

It was thus that a privileged poet sang of the great Whig minister of George the Second. But nowadays a like boast might be echoed by a much wider range of admirers. Who has not been made familiar with Mr. Gladstone in his happier hours in his home at Hawarden? Who has not pictured the veteran statesman reading the Lessons in the village church; or showing his skill in woodcraft; giving a kindly welcome to pilgrims drawn to the Liberal Mecca; holding converse in his library with some old divine or favourite classic; or unbending his mind amid a group of grandchildren? Censorious critics might smile, or sneer, at all this publicity. But at least it disclosed to view nothing but what was pure and honourable.

*Casta domus, luxuque carens, corruptaque nunquam
Fortuna domini: clarum et venerabile nomen.*

With its effect on his position as a party leader we are not concerned; but it is likely enough that this served to strengthen the attachment of his followers, and at the same time led not a few of his political foemen to regard the Liberal chief with kindly feelings. And if the vices of a man in high position can hardly fail to have an evil effect in proportion to his popularity, one who is thus seen wearing the white flower of a blameless life in all this glare of publicity, must surely exert a wholesome influence on his many admirers.

But the moral power of Mr. Gladstone was by no means confined to the silent influence of the example shown in his

honourable career and stainless character. In his speeches and writings, and in his conduct as a Minister, the same moral force is predominant. In Catholic philosophy, political science is a branch of ethics, and the relations of rulers and subjects are essentially moral. And, assuredly, few statesmen have felt this more deeply than Mr. Gladstone. This was one of his own arguments to show that the State is under an obligation of making public profession of religion. For, he urges, in a State where this was wanting,

moral subject-matter would still of necessity be inextricably mixed, and in a thousand forms, with the business of legislation and administration; subject-matter which requires the direct application of the principle of religion, and where duty would not be satisfied by those more general acknowledgments of God which may suffice for lower practice.*

And if we turn from theory to practice, we shall find that he never spoke with such fire and energy as when he was advocating something which was no mere question of wisdom or expediency, but a matter of conscience; when he was urging the prompt fulfilment of some debt of justice, or burning with a righteous indignation against wrong. Thus, to take a few salient instances, we find him raising his voice against the Opium War with China in 1840, in a speech which may be ranked among his finest efforts. The passage on the true glory of the English flag has often been quoted; but we cannot refrain from citing it once more. Those who are familiar with it will not be sorry to see it again; and it is, very possibly, new to many readers of the present generation:

The right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Macaulay) spoke last night in eloquent terms of the British flag waving in glory at Canton, and of the animating effects produced on our sailors by the knowledge that in no country under heaven was it permitted to be insulted. We all know the animating effects which have been produced in the minds of British subjects when that flag has been unfurled in the battle-field. But how comes it to pass that the sight of that flag always raises the spirit of Englishmen? It is because it has always been associated with the cause of justice, with opposition to oppression, with respect for national rights, with honourable commercial enterprise. But now, under the auspices of the noble Lord, that flag is hoisted to protect an infamous

* "The State in its Relations with the Church." By W. E. Gladstone, Esq., late student of Christchurch, and M.P. for Newark. Fourth edition. 1841. Vol. ii. pp. 352, 353.

contraband traffic, and if it were never to be hoisted except as it is now hoisted on the coast of China, we should recoil from its sight with horror, and should never again feel our hearts thrill, as they now thrill with emotion, when it floats proudly and magnificently on the breeze.*

Another notable speech, in the same lofty strain, was called forth by the high-handed proceedings of the British Government in the case of Don Pacifico. English patriotism is sometimes in danger of degenerating into an overweening national pride at the expense of other nations. And even those, who may take a somewhat different view of the facts in this particular instance, must admit that the lessons administered by Mr. Gladstone are only too often needed, and his scathing rebuke of national arrogance too well deserved. This speech, we may add, is interesting for another reason. Mr. Gladstone, as is well known, was one of the greatest masters of the art of classical quotation—an art which is in danger of being lost to parliamentary rhetoric. And he was never happier than in wresting this weapon from the hands of his opponents as he here does with the famous phrase, *Civis Romanus sum*.

It would be a contravention of the law of nature and of God, if it were possible for any single nation of Christendom to emancipate itself from the obligations which bind all other nations, and to arrogate, in the face of mankind, a position of peculiar privilege. And now I will grapple with the noble Lord on the ground which he selected for himself, in the most triumphant portion of his speech, by his reference to those emphatic words, *Civis Romanus sum*. He vaunted, amidst the cheers of his supporters, that under his administration an Englishman should be, throughout the world, what the citizen of Rome had been. What, then, sir, was a Roman citizen? He was the member of a privileged caste; he belonged to a conquering race, to a nation that held all others bound down by the strong arm of power. For him there was to be an exceptional system of law; for him principles were to be asserted, and by him rights were to be enjoyed, that were denied to the rest of the world. Is such, then, the view of the noble Lord as to the relation which is to subsist between England and other countries? Does he make the claim for us that we are to be uplifted upon a platform high above the standing-ground of all other nations? . . . Sir, I say the policy of the noble Lord tends to encourage and confirm in us that which is our besetting fault and weakness, both as a nation and as individuals. Let an Englishman travel where he will as a private person, he is found in general to be upright, highminded, brave, liberal, and true; but with all this, foreigners are too often sensible of something that galls them in his presence, and I

* Hansard's Debates, April 8, 1840.

apprehend it is because he has too great a tendency to self-esteem—too little disposition to regard the feelings, the habits, and the ideas of others.*

The war with China, in 1857, arising out of the seizure of a pirate carrying the English flag, elicited from Mr. Gladstone another eloquent protest. It is pleasant to remember that this grave moral question broke down the barriers of party; and the present Prime Minister, and his whilom leader, Lord Beaconsfield, were found fighting side by side with Bright, and Gladstone, and Milner Gibson.

But the most memorable instance of Mr. Gladstone's earnestness and energy in moral questions was his dauntless resistance to the passing of the Divorce Bill. Needless to say, he was not alone in this opposition. But no other opponent of the measure made the same strenuous efforts to defeat it—or, rather we should say, no such opposition was ever offered by one member to any measure whatever. The closest parallel in recent years was the resistance made by Irish Nationalists, on more than one occasion, to repressive legislation. But this was the work of a party, not of an individual member. He opposed its principle both in Parliament and in the Press. He sought successively to defeat it, to postpone it, and to minimise its most repulsive features, fighting against it literally "clause by clause, line by line, and word by word." In opposing the second reading he made one of his longest and ablest speeches; and on its various stages he spoke some seventy times altogether. And when his labours were at last cut short by a domestic affliction, he still had a further important amendment prepared, which was left in the hands of his colleague, Sir William Heathcote.

These efforts in the sacred cause of national morals deserve grateful recognition at the hands of Catholics. It is true that he failed in the immediate object of his opposition. Yet who shall say that his earnest words did not avail, in some measure at least, to mitigate the evil, and strengthen the hands and revive the courage of those among his fellow-churchmen who uphold the indissoluble nature of Christian marriage? Before we leave this subject, we must add a word

* Speech on Mr. Roebuck's motion, June 24, 1850.

on Mr. Gladstone's subsequent conduct. At the time of his opposition to the Divorce Bill he had not as yet entered the ranks of the Liberal party; and in the last eight lustres of his life he was to change in many other respects beside this memorable conversion. But on this vital question of marriage he remained unshaken to the end. And when the Bill he so strenuously resisted had been for forty years the law of the land, and he was able to reconsider his opinion by the light of experience, and judge the measure by its recorded results, he saw no reason to regret his resistance, or take back his words of warning.

From what has been said, and from many other facts of a like nature which might be added, it is clear that Mr. Gladstone was long a powerful moral influence in English politics. A deep sense of duty, combined with an honest hatred of injustice, was at once the main motive of his actions and the secret of his success. And to those who have studied his writings and speeches, and considered the course of his career, it is not less manifest that this moral earnestness had its source in religion. A careless or casual observer might regard Mr. Gladstone as a statesman who happened to be a man of religious mind, and found a congenial recreation in dabbling in theology. And when we turn our attention to Mr. Gladstone's attitude towards the Catholic Church, and the part he played in the religious movements of his time and country, it may seem to some that we are neglecting his main work for something which is a mere episode in his history. Such views, we venture to say, are utterly mistaken. Mr. Gladstone's religious principles were, assuredly, no accident or episode; but rather, as they ought to be in all cases, the mainspring of his actions.

The first fact in regard to Mr. Gladstone's attitude towards the Church, and his contact with Catholic doctrines, is his connection with the great religious revival known as the Oxford Movement. His name is frequently met with in the lives of the Tractarian leaders, and in some of the critical events at the later stages of the movement he took an active—nay, a prominent part. But we are not aware that his relations with the Tractarians have ever been made the subject of careful study. And there are probably many, even among

his admirers, who fail to grasp its full significance. It is known, indeed, that he was the foremost statesman in touch with the Oxford theologians, and was, in some sense, their spokesman in Parliament; and that, in the full tide of the movement, he brought out a book on Church and State—a volume which may be described by the title of one of Spinoza's writings, as "*Tractatus Theo'ogico-Politicus*." To some this may seem to be a subject of secondary importance, only on the outskirts of the movement. Yet, to those who have studied the matter more deeply, the fact is surely full of significance.

It is true that the main current of the great reaction was theological, a revival of Catholic doctrines drawn from the writings of the Fathers, and tending towards the true home of those doctrines, which is, in Newman's words, "the Church of the Fathers and the home of the children." And when we look at its happy issue in so many instances, we may well believe that the movement was mainly due to a special outpouring of divine grace and the working of the Holy Spirit. But among the many secondary causes whose operation can be distinctly traced—philosophical and literary causes, such as the metaphysics of Coleridge and the poetry of Wordsworth, and the interest awakened in mediæval history by Sir Walter Scott and other romantic writers—political factors hold a prominent, perhaps we might almost say the foremost place.

The presence of this element is plainly acknowledged by the great Tractarian leader. Thus, he tells us in regard to Hurrell Froude, who did so much to set the work in motion, "he was fond of historical inquiry and the politics of religion. He had no taste for theology as such."* In the same memorable chapter he tells us that one of the immediate causes of the Tractarian campaign was the threatening attitude of Lord Grey's Government. And elsewhere we have it on the same high authority, that "The '*Tracts for the Times*' were founded on a deadly antagonism to what in these last centuries has been called Erastianism or Cæsarism."†

This political element in the Oxford Movement—of the

* "*Apologia*," pp. 24, 25, second edition.

† Letter to the Duke of Norfolk, p. 21.

existence whereof further and abundant evidence is forthcoming—serves to show the importance of a book such as Mr. Gladstone's "*The State in its Relations with the Church.*" Here we are tempted to notice an interesting coincidence which has, if we mistake not, escaped the attention of most writers on this subject. The Oxford Movement, as we have lately been reminded, was in reality one of the waves of a larger Catholic revival, manifested in various forms on the European continent, more especially in France and Germany. Some such connection with the Continent is, indeed, implied in Cardinal Newman's account of the literary harbingers of Tractarianism; for Scott, as Carlyle has told us, received his first impetus from Goethe, while Kant and his school had a like influence on the philosophical speculations of Coleridge. But the curious thing is the close agreement between the parallel but practically independent movements resulting at the same time in England and Germany. Newman's "*Arians of the Fourth Century*" had been preceded by a few years by Möhler's "*Athanasius der Grosse und die Kirche seiner Zeit*"; and thus the two foremost theologians of England and Germany were working, unknown to each other, at the same time on the same subject. Moreover, in both countries alike, the name of Athanasius was a watchword against the dominant Erastianism of the day. Newman's history of the Arians ends with the stirring words: "Should the hand of Satan press us sore, our Athanasius and Basil will be given us, in their destined season, to break the bonds of the oppressor and let the captives go free." And now, in the very same year in which a young English statesman, influenced, and, in some sense inspired, by the Oxford teaching, was making this bold attempt to handle the crucial question of Church and State, the vigorous voice of Görres was ringing through the Rhineland, vindicating the rights of the Catholic Church in his memorable "*Athanasius.*"* The singular contrast presented by the two books is not less striking than the coincidence of their simultaneous appearance. And the writers themselves exhibit a somewhat similar combination of contrast and agreement. Both men were thoroughly representative of their age

* Curiously enough the last enlarged edition of Mr. Gladstone's book was closely followed by the German authors "*Kirche und Staat.*"

and nation. Both alike had the same strong nature, the same virile virtues—that manhood on which the Englishman laid so much stress in his estimate of others. Both, again, were men of various gifts and versatile genius, passing in turn through a series of changes, which is more often the lot of weaker natures. And both, in fine, were born fighters, frank, fearless, and outspoken in their denunciation of wrong.

The differences which distinguished them were in keeping with their respective nationality; for the German was more of a thinker and a scholar, and the Englishman a man of action. Mr. Gladstone was in touch with the social, literary and religious life of England in many and very various points, and in the course of his long career he had to pass through some remarkable changes. It is a far cry from the ecclesiastical statesman, hailed as the rising hope of stern and unbending Tories, to the veteran Liberal leader, whose name is the watchword of advanced reformers. But the many-sided mind of Görres ranged through yet wider fields of knowledge, and his erratic course is marked by changes still more strange and startling. In his youth he was drawn to Paris, fired by the fever of the great Revolution; with disappointed hopes he returned to a life of study, but the war of German independence soon plunged him once more in the stormy sea of politics, and his vigorous pen made the Rhenish Mercury “the Fourth of the Allied Powers of Europe.”* His powerful pamphlets on “Germany and the Revolution” and “Europe and the Revolution” disturbed the reactionaries of the Holy Alliance, who made their whilom colleague an object of persecution. After foreshadowing the future constitution of his country, he turned from politics to the history of religion and mystic theology, and became one of the chief champions of the Catholic Church in Germany. His stormy political career was already in the past when he handled the problem of Church and State in the pages of his “Athanasius,” while the work of the young English statesman was as yet, in his own words, in the dim and distant future.

Habent sua fata libelli. And Mr. Gladstone’s book on “The State in its Relations with the Church” has had a somewhat

* “Der vierte allierte,” cf. Heine, “Die Romantische Schule,” ii. 3.

singular fortune. Some books live by their own merits, while others, not always deservedly, are speedily buried in oblivion. And others, again, are to some extent kept alive by their author's reputation. But in this case the book, in spite of many merits, had not the inherent vitality of a classic, while as the work of what they must have considered his unregenerate Tory days, it had little adventitious attraction for the writer's political admirers. Perhaps in these circumstances the book itself would have been suffered to rest undisturbed, while only the mere fact of its existence was remembered, but at an early date it had the doubtful advantage of being reviewed by Lord Macaulay in the *Edinburgh Review*. We should be loath to say anything against that illustrious writer, and we are certainly not going to disparage the gentle art of reviewing. But it is quite possible to regard his famous articles as excellent essays, but from an author's point of view, at any rate, most undesirable as reviews. The critic, we take it, has a twofold task to perform—to report on the contents of a book, and to pass judgment on its merits; in other words, he has the double office of a judge, that of summing up and passing sentence. A good review should give the reader a true knowledge of the book, and pronounce a just and impartial judgment. With all their merits, Macaulay's articles generally, and this essay on Gladstone in particular, can hardly be said to fulfil either function with marked success. It may be added that in most cases a mistaken review does comparatively little harm, for it has only an ephemeral existence, and the book may outlive its attacks. But the unfortunate thing is that Macaulay's reviews have taken a permanent place in literature, and are very widely read by those who read little else besides them. Even in our own time we may find a writer criticising Mr. Gladstone's reasoning on the strength of a second-hand and imperfect knowledge derived from that famous essay.

In his "Chapter of Autobiography," published at the time of the Irish Disestablishment in 1868, Mr. Gladstone has referred to his earlier work with all becoming modesty. After mentioning its first publication in 1838, he adds :

Three editions of it were published without textual change; and in the year 1841 a fourth, greatly enlarged, though in other respects little altered, issued from the press. All interest in it had, however, even at

that time, long gone by, and it lived for nearly thirty years only in the vigorous and brilliant, though not (in my opinion) entirely faithful, picture, drawn by the accomplished hand of Lord Macaulay.*

It may be well to give Mr. Gladstone's own account of the purport of his book.

The work attempted to survey the actual state of the relations between the State and the Church; to show from History the ground which had been defined for the National Church at the Reformation; and to inquire and determine whether the existing state of things was worth preserving and defending against encroachment from whatever quarter. This question it decided emphatically in the affirmative.†

In the same pamphlet, Mr. Gladstone prints an interesting correspondence between himself and Lord Macaulay, on a misconception of the reviewer, to wit that the book "contemplated not indeed persecution, but yet the retrogressive process of disabling and disqualifying from civil office all those who did not adhere to the religion of the State." The courteous and humble tone of the author's comments may be seen from the following passage:

I need hardly say that the question I raise is not whether you have misrepresented me, for, were I disposed to anything so weak, the whole internal evidence and clear intention of your article would confute me: indeed, I feel, that I ought to apologise for even supposing that you may have been mistaken in the apprehension of my meaning, and I fully admit, on the other hand, the possibility that, totally without my own knowledge, my language may have led to such an interpretation.‡

This letter, as well might be imagined, elicited a kindly reply from the reviewer, who gladly accepted Mr. Gladstone's disclaimer, while he pointed out portions of the book which had led to his own interpretation of its teaching. "If I had understood," he adds in conclusion, "that you meant your rules to be followed out in practice only so far as might be consistent with the peace and good government of society, I should certainly have expressed myself very differently in several parts of my article."§ These letters, it is true, refer only to this one point of the disqualification of dissenters from holding civil office. But in the aforesaid enlarged edition of

* "A Chapter of Autobiography," p. 14.

† *Ibid.* p. 15.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 17.

§ *Ibid.* p. 18.

his book, Mr. Gladstone has made some additions in further explanation of his meaning on other matters, and in reply to some of Macaulay's objections. This, however, is little known to modern readers, who probably continue, for the most part, to form their opinion of the work from the brilliant but unsatisfactory essay, which opens with the famous description of Mr. Gladstone as, "the rising hope of those stern and unbending Tories, who follow, reluctantly and mutinously, a leader whose experience and eloquence are indispensable to them, but whose cautious temper and moderate opinions they abhor."

When we consider the length of the book and the somewhat abstruse nature of the subject, we cannot wonder that it should find only a small number of readers. Nevertheless, it contains much excellent matter, and to the student who wishes to form a just estimate of the author's career, it is well worthy of serious attention. The Catholic reader will find himself in agreement with most of the writer's main principles on the advantage of union between Church and State, and the sacred duties of the sovereign in regard to religion. He will read with pleasure Mr. Gladstone's able and earnest defence of these sound principles, however much he may regret the mistaken ideas on certain important points of doctrine with which they are associated. But he will find himself unable to follow Mr. Gladstone in his reading of English religious history.

The style of the book is somewhat varied—at times we have a bare enumeration of facts and statistics in regard to the relations of Church and State, at times an eloquent and impassioned pleading for the fulfilment of a sacred national duty, and elsewhere we meet with touches of sarcasm, or, again, with terse philosophical definitions. Thus, we are told that, "The State is the self-governing energy of the nation made objective."* On the subject of the Maynooth Grant, which was destined to give him some practical difficulty later on, Mr. Gladstone speaks with singular severity. In his view, the grant had originally been given for an object in which it wholly failed, producing indeed an effect directly contrary to that which was intended; it was hard to justify the principle on which it was given; while if anything should be paid, the

* Vol. i. p. 78, fourth edition.

actual amount was "niggardly and unworthy." He adds that the manner in which it was given by annual votes in the House of Commons, "exhibits at once our jealous parsimony, our lax principles, and our erroneous calculations."*

But for us the chief interest of this book on Church and State lies not in the doctrine it defends, or in the ability displayed in many notable passages, but in the light which it throws on the author's character and his subsequent career. First and foremost it bears upon its face plain and unmistakable tokens of his intense religious belief and deep piety, and of his conviction that statesmen should be continually guided by religious principles. It is difficult to convey in one quotation a truth that is borne in upon the reader's mind at every page; but we are tempted to cite the following passage, not as anything exceptional, but as an instance of the spirit which pervades the whole volume. After dwelling on the difficult and delicate question presented to a Minister, who sees the State beginning to give indiscriminate support to various forms of religion, and asks himself how far he may "exercise voluntary functions in a State, a part of whose action is thus disfigured," Mr. Gladstone goes on to say:

These are issues for the court of conscience, which I am unable to answer by any general terms having the rigour of a formula that would not rather cause confusion than convey knowledge. There are many similar problems in private life; and our ambition must not be dissatisfied with the want of an absolute and universal solution, far less must a man be forward to condemn his brother where he can hardly feel his own way. But thus much I will say: happy is the man who gives, in his own heart, free but not exclusive scope to the fear of sin; who holds that, for a public man, the first condition of capacity to serve his country is an unsullied conscience; and who, when he sees national advantage seemingly contingent upon his own moral contamination, trusts that God will raise up instruments to secure for his country all necessary goods of earth, and refuses to sell wisdom though it be for rubies.†

Words like these enable us to understand and appreciate Mr. Gladstone's action some four years after the publication of this last edition of the book. He had spoken, as we have seen, against concurrent endowments in general, and against

* Vol. ii. p. 301.

† Vol. i. pp. 126, 127.

the Maynooth Grant in particular; and now the Ministry of which he was a member was proposing to increase that grant. He had, indeed, come to see, on further consideration of the subject, that this course was necessary. But he felt that his support might appear to others as a sacrifice of principle to his own interests. To prevent this scandal, he resigned his place in the Government, and then supported the measure as an independent member. To some this action has seemed somewhat scrupulous and Quixotic. But it surely finds sufficient explanation in the passage we have quoted; while the resignation, in its turn, bears witness to the sincerity of the writer's sentiments. The same sensitive fear for the chastity of his political honour was shown more than twenty years later, when he put forth his "Chapter of Autobiography" to vindicate his conduct on the subject of Disestablishment; and again in 1886, when he published a similar pamphlet on the Home Rule Question. Change as he might on other matters, there was no vacillation here.

In regard to purely political principles, it might be thought that Mr. Gladstone's early work could throw little light, save in so far as it might serve to indicate his point of departure. In some degree this is true, and the sentiments expressed in the book on Church and State are, occasionally, in curious contrast with the later views of the Liberal Minister. There are, on the other hand, some striking pages which sound strangely familiar to those who know his later speeches, and seem to foreshadow his future course. This is particularly the case in passages charged, so to say, with the sentiment of humanity, or in expressions which show his want of sympathy with the school of doctrinaire economists then in the spring-tide of their power. Thus, at the outset, he notices as among the enemies of the union between Church and State, "some of the professors of political economy, who assign to the undigested materials of a future science prerogatives far more exalted and exclusive than it will be entitled to claim in its maturity."*

And elsewhere he describes as "one of the most sinister symptoms of our own time," "its tendency to detach social

* Vol. i. pp. 1, 2.

relations from the control of the affections, and to trust for their regulation to law or to economical influences alone; to the former, indeed, mainly for redressing the more glaring abuses that result from the uncontrolled dominion of the latter."

"If," he adds:

we had more fully realised our human brotherhood in practice, if we had more faithfully acted upon the sacredness of these our secondary relations of duty, it would be a simpler lesson to learn the great truth, that in all those considerations which separate our individual life from the duller forms of vegetative existence and render it a matter of serious and rational concern, do as strictly attach to those modes of common life of which we are partakers by virtue of our social constitution in its various aspects.*

As we read these passages we are reminded of the famous "flesh and blood" argument in the franchise controversy of the sixties; and of that later speech in which he spoke of some one as applying the abstract principles of political economy as though he were legislating for the inhabitants of Jupiter or Saturn.

Before we leave the subject of this book it may be well to say a word on its relation to the Oxford Tractarian theologians. We have spoken of it as being written under the influence of the movement. But this must not be taken to mean that the leaders of the party had any share in its composition or gave their sanction to its publication. Mr. Gladstone had left Oxford some time before the Assize Sermon which inaugurated the Tractarian movement. He had no direct intercourse with the leaders and took no part in their proceedings. His book contains one solitary reference to "No. 78 of the publications entitled 'Tracts for the Times,'"† which does not indicate any direct influence. But for more distinct evidence of the connection we must betake ourselves elsewhere. In a letter from Newman to Bowden as far back as 1833, Mr. Gladstone's name is mentioned as among those who are in sympathy with the work of the Tract writers. But he does not appear to have followed their writings with much interest, at any rate, before a memorable meeting with Mr. Hope-Scott, on whom he called in Chelsea Hospital:

* Vol. i. p. 58.

† Vol. ii. p. 103.

I found him [writes Mr. Gladstone] among folios and books of serious appearance. It must have been about the year 1836. He opened a conversation on the controversies which were then agitating the Church of England, and which had Oxford for their centre. I do not think I had paid them much attention, but I was an ardent student of Dante, and likewise of St. Augustine: both of them had acted powerfully upon my mind, and this was in truth the best preparation I had for anything like mental communion with a person of his elevation. He then told me that he had been seriously studying the controversy, and that in his opinion the Oxford authors were right.

This was written in 1873 to Mr. Hope-Scott's eldest daughter.* From this same letter we learn that Mr. Gladstone, like Cardinal Newman himself, had been brought up "in what may be termed an atmosphere of Low Church." But his devotion to Dante and St. Augustine must have given him many Catholic ideas, which his intercourse with Hope-Scott, and we may add the then Archdeacon Manning, tended to foster and develop. As he tells us himself, in the same place, the former of these two friends encouraged him in undertaking the book on "Church and State," and helped to see the first edition through the press. And at least in one passage the hand of the other friend is seen, for we find a quotation from "MS. by the Ven. H. E. M." Besides this, we have the numerous letters of the late Cardinal Manning to Mr. Gladstone, which, despite a painful report to the contrary, have happily been preserved. These bear witness at once to the intimate relations of the two friends, and to the deep interest which the young statesman took in matters of religion.

About the time when his book was preparing for the press, Mr. Gladstone stood forth as the champion of the Tractarian chief in his place in Parliament. "You see," writes Newman to J. B. Mozley, "Lord Morpeth has been upon me in the House as editor of the 'Remains.' Gladstone has defended me, Sir Robert Inglis the University; O'Connell has patronised the Tracts.† Not long after this, when Gladstone's book was being made the subject of attack during its author's absence, Cardinal Newman writes to the late Lord Blitchford:

The *Times* is again at poor Gladstone—really I feel as if I could do

* "Memoirs of James Hope-Scott." by Robert Ornsby, vol. ii. pp. 274, 275.

† "Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman," vol. ii. p. 255.

something for him. I have not read his book, but its consequences speak for it. Poor fellow! it is so noble a thing. He and Marriott are on their way home together. Is he prepared for the tempest? *

In a previous letter to the same correspondent, there is a single sentence on the subject: "What a fine fellow Gladstone is!" †

But the most important utterance of the Oxford leaders came not from Newman, but from Keble, who reviewed the book in a masterly manner in the pages of the *British Critic*. ‡ He hails it as a proof "that even in the high places of the State there are those who will never forsake the City of God," and is encouraged by

the rare and noble specimen which it exhibits of what sound religious (in which term we include sound ecclesiastical) principles can do for a person in the most dangerous walks of life: how neither political nor intellectual importance can mar the freshness, the simplicity, the generosity, and (more than all, for it lies at the root of all) the reverential spirit with which the Church's true scholars enter on these high and delicate practical discussions. . . . We will say no more [he adds], for we feel as if this were one of the cases where praise is little better than impertinence.

Not content with thus blessing Mr. Gladstone's book, Keble goes on to administer a well-deserved rebuke to the *Edinburgh* reviewer. The latter had said of his author's argument on the State's duty towards religion:

At this rate our railways and insurance companies, our agricultural, astronomical, horticultural meetings, nay, our cricket and chess clubs, are religious societies, and bound in conscience to exclude unbelievers, and apply some test to the religious opinions of all whom they employ.

Whereupon Keble, after remarking that all these secular associations do in fact come under the rule, Do all for the glory of God, goes on to show from Scripture the divine origin of the civil authority:

It can [he says in conclusion] be no light perversion of mind which would lead any school or any individual to deal with an institution so warranted and originated, as if it were no more sacred in its kind—had

* *Loc. cit.* p. 279, letter of January 22, 1839.

† P. 278.

‡ Vol. xxvi. p. 355, October 1839.

no more to do with God's universal government—than any of the fleeting and frivolous assemblages of the day.

But the most valuable part of this able article consists in its candid criticism of the author's shortcomings. Cordially agreeing with all that is urged in defence of the principle that Church and State should be united, the critic is yet unable to share Mr. Gladstone's satisfaction with their existing relations in this country. It will be enough to mention two points of divergence. Keble is dissatisfied, to use a mild term, with the power of the State over the Church of England. And he asks: "How does the present state of the Crown's legislative supremacy in England accord with the prophetic idea of the regal office in the Church?" Further, he enters an earnest protest against "the excess of our Church's nationality," which he finds, naturally enough, hard to reconcile with the spirit of Catholicity:

Mr. Gladstone [says the reviewer] in his valuable chapters on the Abuse of Private Judgment and on Toleration, brings out in a way to us both original and convincing, the fact that nationality was the leading principle of the English Reformation.

To this excessive "nationality," which was apparently no great offence to the author, the critic very properly demurs. But—*pace tanti viri*—he was himself unable to see the full measure of the evil, as some of his own fellow-labourers came to see it in after years. For in truth it was that same "nationality" of the English Reformation—that break with the organic unity of Catholic Christendom—that, in the natural course, served to perpetuate the Erastian State supremacy in which it took its rise. Only in union with the Catholic Church abroad and its Apostolic centre could the Church in England maintain its independence of the civil government. And only while thus free from the gilded fetters of the State could it remain truly Catholic. The same fatal Erastianism and narrow nationalism have robbed the Eastern Churches of Catholicity and of freedom.

But if Keble himself could thus misread the facts of the situation, he was at any rate in possession of a truer ideal. And Mr. Gladstone, content with the national settlement of religion, is thus on a lower level considerably further from the

Catholic standpoint. The language which he consistently holds about the "blessed Reformation," is in marked contrast with that of Hurrell Froude.* And it is clear from many parts of his first theological work, that, while holding much of the Catholic doctrine maintained by the Tractarians, he by no means went all the way with them. If he stood, in some sense, in the *Via Media*, he was clearly on one side of the road, and still in touch with popular Protestantism. And if he was thus unable to keep up with Froude and Keble, it need hardly be said that he had little in common with those advanced members of the party who frankly adopted Rome as their model. On the appearance of Ward's "Ideal of the Christian Church," he reviewed the book in a long and severe article in the pages of the *Quarterly Review*, especially rebuking the author for his contemptuous treatment of the English Reformers.† At the same time, his love of justice, and his hatred of arbitrary proceedings, made him resist the high-handed action of the Heads of Houses. And he voted against the condemnation and degradation of Ward, as well as against the proposed censure of No. 90. In a letter to Archdeacon Wilberforce, written shortly before the meeting of Convocation, he says with reference to his own article in the *Quarterly*: "The vehemence with which I have presumed to censure Ward leads me to feel a special duty of caution and rigid justice in these proceedings.‡"

In another crisis, which was occasioned some five years later by the Gorham judgment, Mr. Gladstone took a still more prominent part, in company with his two intimate friends, Mr. Hope-Scott and Archdeacon Manning. But here, again, we find him keeping to a moderate line of his own. And while he was present at the meeting which adopted the celebrated protest against the judgment, he could not see his way to sign that document. To some of his friends this painful crisis proved a blessing in disguise, for it speedily led to their reconciliation with the Catholic Church. But Mr. Gladstone, view-

* See, for example, the passage from the "Remains," cited by Lord Morpeth, on the occasion to which allusion has been made above.

† See the number for December 1844.

‡ See Mr. Wilfrid Ward's "William George Ward and the Oxford Movement," p. 324.

ing the matter in another light, does not seem to have felt his own convictions shaken. His own sentiments on this matter were expressed some years later to the daughter of the dear friend who was then parted from him. At the close of that letter to Mrs. Maxwell Scott, which has been cited above, he says :

Recollect that what came to him as light and blessing and emancipation, had never offered itself to me otherwise than as a temptation and a sin; recollect that when he found what he held his "pearl of great price," his discovery was to me beyond what I could describe, not only a shock and a grief, but a danger too. I having given you my engagement, you having accepted it, I have felt that I must above all things be true, and that I could only be true by telling you everything. If I have traversed some of the ground in sadness, I now turn to the brighter thought of his present light and peace and progress; may they be his more and more abundantly in that world where the shadows that our sins and follies cast no longer darken the aspect and glory of the truth; and may God ever bless you, the daughter of my friend! *

These words may fitly close our review of Mr. Gladstone's position in regard to the great doctrinal questions agitated in the Oxford Movement; and we may now turn our attention to the part he bore in legislation affecting his Catholic countrymen.

The Gorham judgment was closely followed by the great outburst of Protestant feeling, provoked by the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy, and fired by the Prime Minister's inflammatory letter to the Bishop of Durham. And, indeed, the "No Popery" storm had some share in completing the conversions which were partly due to the decision of the Privy Council in favour of Mr. Gorham. The tempest which was agitating the country soon penetrated the walls of Parliament, where Lord John Russell brought forward his Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, forbidding, under penalty, the use of territorial titles by Catholic bishops. In this panic legislation, the Government had the support of the two great parties in the State, and its opponents were, from the first, in a hopeless minority. But the Irish members opposed a stubborn and gallant resistance to the measure, in which they were ably supported by the remnant of Sir Robert Peel's party, with the English Catholics, and

* "Memoirs of James Hope-Scott," vol. ii. pp. 286, 287.

some few independent Liberals. Alone among the University members, Mr. Gladstone joined in opposing the Bill; and his speech on the second reading is, in many ways, one of his ablest and most remarkable speeches. As a sample of its quality, we may cite the following passage, in which a quotation used on a former occasion by Lord John Russell is very happily turned against him.

I never heard a more impressive passage delivered by any speaker than one passage in the speech of the noble Lord upon the second reading of the Bill enlarging the endowment of the College of Maynooth. The noble Lord referred to some lines of Virgil, which the House will not regret to hear:

Scilicet et tempus veniet, cum finibus illis
Agricola, incurvo terram molitus aratro,
Exesa inveniet scabra rubigine pila:
Aut gravibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanis,
Grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris.*

And he said (I cannot give his exact words), upon the scenes where battles have been fought the hand of nature effaces the ruins of man's wrath, and the cultivator of the soil in future times finds there rusted arms, and looks upon them with joy as the memorials of forgotten strife, and as enhancing the blessing of his peaceful occupation. The noble lord then went on to say, in reference to the powerful opposition then offered to the Bill for the endowment of Maynooth—it seems that the strife upon the question of religion is never to fail, and that our arms are never to rust. Would any man who heard the noble lord deliver these impressive sentiments have believed that the strife with regard to religious liberty was to be revived not only with a greater degree of acerbity in the year 1851, but that the noble lord himself was to be a main agent in its revival—that his was to be the head that was to wear the helmet, and his the hand that was to grasp the spear?†

In another impressive passage Mr. Gladstone bids the House show the Pope and the Cardinals that England, like Rome, has her *semper eadem*, and that when she has once adopted a policy of toleration, "she can no more retrace her steps than the river that bathes this giant city can flow backward to its source."

We cannot [he says] change the profound and resistless tendencies of the age towards religious liberty. It is our business to guide and control

* "Georgica," l. 493.

† Hansard's Debates, March 25, 1851.

their application. Do this you may. But to endeavour to turn them backwards is the sport of children, done by the hands of men; and every effort you may make in that direction will recoil upon you in disaster and disgrace.

In his chapter of Autobiography Mr. Gladstone says very truly of his opposition on this occasion: "I may be permitted to observe, that for the representative of the University of Oxford thus to set himself against the great bulk of the Liberal as well as the Conservative party, whatever else it may have been, was not a servile or a self-seeking course."*

Some twenty years after the struggle, when instead of fighting against overwhelming odds, he had been carried into office at the head of a powerful majority, he had the satisfaction of removing this impotent and insulting law from the Statute Book. And this repeal of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was by no means the only service done to Catholics by Mr. Gladstone during his first tenure of office as Prime Minister. The important measure of Irish Disestablishment, though directly concerning Protestants, was mainly meant as an act of justice to the Catholics of Ireland. And to the same Government we are beholden for the important Promissory Oaths Act of 1871 (34 & 35 Vict. c. 48), which abolished the invidious oath prescribed for Catholics; and, according to a view for which there is high authority, "removed the last trace of those formidable tests which had so long excluded Catholics from all the emoluments of place and power.† Another Act of the same year opened to Catholics the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and Durham, a liberty of which they are now beginning to take full advantage. And even in regard to the Elementary Education Act of 1870, fraught as it was with future danger to religious education, Mr. Gladstone did some service to Catholics, defending their cause against the extreme party. Nor can we forget that the abortive Irish University Bill, which led to the downfall of the Administration, was, with all its imperfections, an honest attempt to remove a rankling wrong.

This list of services rendered to Catholics by Mr. Gladstone will help us to appreciate the following words of the late Arch-

* P. 37.

† See "A Manual of the Law Specially Affecting Catholics," by W. S. Lilly and J. E. P. Wallis. 1893. Clowes & Sons. P. 33.

bishop Ullathorne, in the course of the controversy with the ex-Premier in 1875 :

In the interval between the Council and Mr. Gladstone's article in the *Contemporary Review*, that statesman had been a most generous friend to his Catholic fellow-countrymen. He had protected our principles against strong opposition in the Elementary Education Act; he had repealed the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, an immense boon to us; he had freed Catholic Ireland from the incumbrance of a State Church not in harmony with the religion of the people; he had intended well in his Irish University scheme, except that he was unable to realise the depth and tenacity with which Catholics hold to their principles, or to understand what experience of the evil of mixed universities we had already before us on the Continent. How sad it is that, by an outrage as unprovoked as it was unexpected, Mr. Gladstone should put our gratitude to a strain so intense.*

This brings us to a painful episode in Mr. Gladstone's career—the acrimonious controversy with Catholics, arising out of the charges brought forward in his article in the *Contemporary Review*, and reiterated in his pamphlet on “The Vatican Decrees and their bearing on Civil Allegiance.” We need hardly say that we have no wish—least of all at the present moment—to stir anew the ashes of strife and awaken painful memories. Still, we cannot well pass the matter by in absolute silence if we would form a just estimate of Mr. Gladstone's character, and give a faithful record of his relations with his Catholic countrymen. Happily, there will be no need, at this time of day, to make any detailed examination of the deceased statesman's charges against the Church, or to offer any new answer to his arguments. Readers who are in want of any set refutation of that vehement attack on the Vatican Decrees, will naturally betake themselves to the works of contemporary Catholic champions, more especially to the clear and manly reply of Cardinal Manning, or to that masterpiece of theological controversy, Cardinal Newman's luminous letter to the Duke of Norfolk. Here it will be enough to touch lightly on the main features of the discussion, to see if, now that the heat of the controversy has passed away, we can discern anything to explain or extenuate the hasty action of our assailant, and to ask how the question looks in the light of later history.

* Mr. Gladstone's “Expostulation Unravell’d,” by Bishop Ullathorne, pp. 11, 12.

The famous controversy which culminated in the appearance of the "Apologia" began, as we all know, by a charge thrown out, as it were by the way, in the course of a magazine article. In much the same manner the first notes of Mr. Gladstone's wordy war with "Vaticanism" were sounded in a passage—*obiter dictum*—in an article on another subject. But in this case, to judge by the writer's later utterances, there was some deliberate intention of raising a discussion on the matter, though it appeared thus oddly as the accidental outcome of some unguarded language. Catholic readers of the *Contemporary Review*, who turned the pages of the number for October 1874, and glanced with the careless eyes of mere outsiders at the ex-Premier's article on "Ritualism and Ritual," must have been considerably startled to read the following portentous passage. In reference to an imaginary attempt "to Romanise the Church and people of England," Mr. Gladstone says:

At no time since the bloody reign of Mary has such a scheme been possible, but if it had been possible in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, it would still have become impossible in the nineteenth, when Rome has substituted for the proud boast of *semper eadem* a policy of violence and change in faith; when she has refurbished and paraded anew every rusty tool she was fondly thought to have disused; when no one can become her convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another, and when she has equally repudiated modern thought and ancient history.*

Naturally enough, some of the writer's Catholic friends ventured to make some remonstrance on the subject of these sweeping charges. Thereupon, Mr. Gladstone, who, rather oddly, thought his assertions "not aggressive but defensive," put forth his pamphlet, "The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance: A Political Expostulation." In this he sets himself to establish the four propositions contained in the above passage. He disposes rather summarily of the first and fourth—viz., that Rome has substituted for the proud boast of *semper eadem* a policy of violence and change in faith; and, that she has equally repudiated modern thought and ancient history, "as they appear to belong to the theological domain." And he finds his "rusty tools" in the Syllabus.

* P. 674. In his subsequent pamphlet Mr. Gladstone acknowledged that "renouncing" should have been "forfeiting," as the other would imply a conscious surrender.

But the main point, as the title of the pamphlet implies, is the proposition that a convert to Rome must forfeit his mental and moral freedom, and place his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another. This he establishes to his own satisfaction from the decrees on Papal Authority and Infallibility, in the third and fourth chapters of the Constitution *Pastor Aeternus*. And he submits in consequence that

England is entitled to ask, and to know, in what way the obedience required by the Pope and the Council of the Vatican is to be reconciled with the integrity of civil allegiance?

While confessing his faith in the loyalty of his Catholic fellow-citizens, he thinks that under these circumstances

it seems not too much to ask of them to confirm the opinion which we, as fellow-countrymen, entertain of them, by sweeping away, in such manner and terms as they may think best, the presumptive imputations which their ecclesiastical rulers at Rome, acting autocratically, appear to have brought upon their capacity to pay a solid and undivided allegiance, and to fulfil the engagement which their bishops, as political sponsors, promised and declared for them in 1825.*

And he kindly explains that "what is wanted" is either

I. A demonstration that neither in the name of faith, nor in the name of morals, nor in the name of the government or discipline of the Church, is the Pope of Rome able, by virtue of the powers asserted for him by the Vatican decree, to make any claim upon those who adhere to his communion, of such a nature as can impair the integrity of their civil allegiance; or else, II. That if and when such claim is made, it will even although resting on the definitions of the Vatican, be repelled and rejected.†

As might have been expected, more than one Catholic champion promptly came forward to take up this challenge. Besides the three answers to which allusion has been made above, we may mention the pamphlet of Canon Neville, who speaks, in Cardinal Newman's words, "with the authority belonging to a late theological Professor of Maynooth;" and a clear and forcible reply by Monsignor Capel.

In February 1875, Mr. Gladstone brought out a further pamphlet, entitled "Vaticanism: An Answer to Reproofs and

* Pp. 43, 44.

† P. 44.

Replies." In this he endeavours to meet the objections of his antagonists, and maintains all his original charges anent the "rusty tools," and the breach with history, &c. As a recent writer has asserted that the upshot of the whole controversy was that no satisfactory answer could be returned to Mr. Gladstone's alternative challenge, it may be well to cite the following words from the introduction to "Vaticanism :"

When it is considered that Dr. Newman is like the sun in the intellectual hemisphere of Anglo-Romanism, and that, besides those acceptors of the decrees who write in the same sense, various Roman Catholics of weight and distinction, well known to represent the views of many more, have held equally outspoken and perhaps more consistent language, I cannot but say that the immediate purpose of my appeal has been attained, in so far that the loyalty of our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects in the mass remains evidently untainted and secure. It would be unjust to Archbishop Manning, on whose opinions, in many points, I shall again have to animadvert, were I not to say that his declarations materially assist in leading me to this conclusion.*

In the course of this introduction, Mr. Gladstone pays an eloquent tribute to the rare gifts of Cardinal Newman, and gratefully acknowledges the tenderness with which he has been treated by his foremost antagonist. This pleasing passage is characteristically rounded off with a singularly happy quotation from Homer : "I sum up this pleasant portion of my duty with the language of Helen respecting Hector : *πατὴρ ὧς ἥπιος αἰεὶ*.†

But in spite of these occasional amenities, the pamphlet, as a whole, is painful reading. For if the loyalty of the English Catholics is allowed to be still intact, this is because "the poison, which circulates from Rome, has not actually been taken into the system." And, after all that had been said in answer and explanation, the author still sticks to his extravagant charges against the Roman See—its violence and change in faith, its refurbishing of rusty tools, its breach with modern thought and ancient history, and its hostility to mental and moral freedom. And as if this were not enough, the second

* P. 14.

† "Iliad," xxiv. 770. The whole passage is indeed "respecting Hector," but the phrase here cited is applied to his father Priam—*quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus*.

pamphlet had been preceded by a severe article in the *Quarterly Review* on the speeches of Pope Pius IX. And the three were speedily published together in a solid volume—*illi robur et aes triplex*—to confront the thunders of the Vatican.*

This appearance of the eminent statesman in the field of anti-Papal polemics is certainly a singular phenomenon, and presents a somewhat curious contrast to both the leading phases of his previous career. Although it does not figure on the title-page of his book, one of the main objects of his indignant denunciation is the Syllabus of 1864. And what, after all, is that same Syllabus of Errors; especially in those portions which are so rudely handled by its assailant? As Cardinal Newman has shown, the condemnations there summarised were originally delivered by the Pope and his predecessors in sundry allocutions, briefs, and constitutions, not in cut and dried propositions, or abstract formulas, but in words of grave warning, rebuke, and remonstrance. And the sum of the whole series is a powerful and authoritative protest against that practical, political atheism, which the author of "The State in its Relations with the Church" held in holy horror. It is a plea in behalf of the union of Church and State, and the sanctity of Christian marriage, causes which he had ably defended by his pen, and by the most prolonged and arduous of his parliamentary labours.

At the same time his position in this controversy is scarcely in keeping with his liberal attitude on questions of religious toleration. In answer to a remark of Cardinal Newman's, he now quotes once more the passage from the "Georgics," on the ploughman turning up the mouldering spear and helmet. Did it waken no memories of a former occasion on which he had wrested it from the hands of Lord John Russell? Did it not bring back the echo of his own words, "his was to be the head that was to wear the helmet, and his the hand that was to grasp the spear?"

Yet, if we look calmly at all the facts and circumstances which preceded this remarkable outbreak, we shall perhaps find some that help to explain Mr. Gladstone's conduct in the

* "Rome and the Newest Fashions in Religion." Three Tracts: The Vatican Decrees, Vaticanism, Speeches of the Pope. By the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. Collected edition, with a preface. 1875.

controversy, or at least to lighten the difficulty of understanding it. From the first, as may be seen in many pages of his earlier writings, he had a genuine love of liberty. He had come, moreover, to adopt with all the zeal of a convert the principle of full toleration in religion. He felt that this was the necessary tendency of the times, against which it was vain, nay, dangerous to struggle. Further he had, through all his career, a passionate hatred of wrong and injustice; this was at once his main source of triumph, and one of his chief dangers. And, as a genuine student, he had a veneration for history and a reverence for masters of learning.

Now, let us suppose such a one as this to see the Vatican Council from a particular standpoint, to see it as it was plausibly presented by certain very able men in Germany. He would see, as he thought, a startling innovation, and a violent break with the past; he would see arbitrary proceedings, and the triumph of intriguers, while the wise and learned were rudely swept aside, and in the result a venerable institution, which had done good service to mankind, was now changed into a grinding spiritual despotism. Or, let us suppose that he saw the Syllabus, not as it appeared to those for whom it was intended, the Bishops and their clergy, but as it appeared when first presented in the press, and made the sport of prejudice and exaggeration. In this case, he might easily read it as a wholesale condemnation of progress and liberty. If we suppose Mr. Gladstone to have this lurid picture of wrong before him at a time, moreover, when he was embittered by what he thought the ingratitude of Catholics who had helped to hurl him from power, we may regret his unfortunate mistakes and the violence of his virtuous indignation, but at least we can understand him.

It remains to ask how the matter looks in the light of recent history. The Vatican Decrees were not passed yesterday. They have now had more than a quarter of a century of undisputed sway in the Church, and the echoes of the strife have long since died away in the distance. The "poison" has, surely, had plenty of time to work its way into the system. What, then, are its results? Have Catholics any shreds and tatters of civil loyalty yet left about them? Have they severed the last link with the past, and lost all interest in

modern thought and ancient history, along with the last lingering remnants of mental and modern freedom?

The whole record of Pope Leo's memorable reign gives a plain answer to these questions. Catholics are still among the most loyal subjects of the State, and the voice of the Holy Father has more than once been raised to remind them of their duties as citizens, and to reconcile them when occasion arose with the civil authorities of their country. At the same time, the Pontiff himself has thrown open the archives of the Vatican, and encouraged Catholic scholars to labour in the field of history. "They have left none to take their place," said Cardinal Newman, with reference to certain illustrious German scholars who unhappily went astray in the day of trouble. We may sympathise with his tender regret; and we certainly have no desire to disparage their labours in the past, or cast scorn upon them. But at least we may be thankful that this fear has been falsified by the event, and others have been raised up in France, and England and Germany, to fill their place, not unworthily. For the writings of Pastor, and Hergenröther, and Duchesne, and other scholars of our own time, need not shrink from comparison with the best work of Döllinger and his fellows. Meanwhile, Catholic philosophers and scientists have shown that loyal subjects of the Holy See can keep in touch with what is called modern thought, and bear their part in the onward progress of human knowledge.

And in both parties of the State loyal Catholics have held high office under the Crown without betraying any of the evil effects of a divided allegiance. It is worthy of remark that Mr. Gladstone himself showed the sincerity of his acknowledgment of Catholic loyalty, and of his resolve to continue in the path of toleration, by his selection of Catholic colleagues for the most responsible offices. And he made it yet more clear by his eloquent advocacy of the Catholic Disabilities Bill of 1891. The measure which he then brought forward would have enabled Catholics to hold the office of Lord Chancellor and that of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland—if indeed the disabilities have not been removed already by his earlier Act of 1871.* It failed at the time, owing to the opposition of the party in

* On this question, see the work of Lilly and Wallis, which has been quoted above.

power. But Mr. Gladstone's effort won the cordial recognition of His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, whose name had been associated with Cardinal Newman's reply to the polemical pamphlet of the Liberal leader. In his capacity of Earl Marshal the same peer has lately had charge of the deceased statesman's public funeral. That this duty should have been discharged with courteous care and kindly feeling by a Catholic member of the Conservative Government seemed a sign that both religious and political animosities had indeed

vanished before a nation's pain ;
Panther and hind forgot their strife,
And rival statesmen thronged the fane.

Towards the close of his life Mr. Gladstone had once again intervened, though in far milder fashion, in a matter of Anglo-Roman controversy—the recent discussion on Anglican Orders. It will not be necessary to enter anew on the arguments in these pages, for the whole subject has been thoroughly threshed out quite recently. And Mr. Gladstone's intervention was, after all, only a minor episode. But we may remark in passing that the position he took in the matter was only what might have been expected from the stress which he laid in his earlier writings on the existence of the Apostolical Succession in the Church of England. And it is clear that his convictions on this subject remained unshaken. We may add that his confident expectation that the Pope would not decide against the validity of the Anglican Orders, and his mild indignation when this hope was frustrated, seem to indicate that he still held his own exaggerated notion of the Papal powers claimed in the Vatican definition. Some of his Catholic opponents had sought to show that the Pope was limited in many ways—*e.g.*, by the doctrines already defined. But the author of "Vaticanism" had stoutly maintained that these bounds were wholly illusory, since the Pope could decide how the former definitions were to be interpreted. Certainly, if he still held this high view of Papal prerogative, and did not see that the Pope must needs be guided in his decision by the known doctrines of the Church, and by the facts newly brought in evidence before him, Mr. Gladstone might reasonably ask the Pope to make any concessions which policy or international courtesy might seem to require.

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C

It is pleasant to turn from these topics to another field of Mr. Gladstone's theological activity, which is possibly but little known to Catholic readers—his work as an apologist and a witness for the truth of Christian revelation. In the course of his long career it was his lot to pass through the midst of many changes—changes in social habits, changes in politics, changes in religion. He saw political power pass from the landed aristocracy to the middle classes, and from these to the masses of the people. He saw the school of economists rise to the height of their power and indulge in dreams of universal peace and plenty, only to melt in a mirage of Socialism, darkened by the spectre of Anarchism and the gathering clouds of war. But few changes were more startling and ominous than the changes in religious belief. It is a far cry from the Church and State ideas dominant in his boyhood, to the indifferentism, rationalism, scepticism, agnosticism and atheism, which have thrown a sombre shadow over so large a portion of this enlightened century. It was something to have passed through the midst of them, exposed to their baneful breath, and yet come out with his early faith unshaken. It was something, surely, for himself, and something, we may well believe, for his countrymen. Even had he written or spoken no word in defence of religion, the silent force of his example would have been no mean influence for good, as we have already seen in the matter of morals. Unbelief itself is spread amongst us not so much by reasoning or the persuasive powers of its protagonists, as by the practical influence and example of those who pass for men of light and leading. And the same force need not be less powerful on the other side.

But here, again, Mr. Gladstone was not content to bear silent witness. And his apologetic writings—from certain pages in his first book sixty years since, to his "*Impregnable Rock of Holy Scripture*," and his recent studies in Bishop Butler—are by no means inconsiderable. We have no wish to exaggerate the importance of these labours, or to claim for Mr. Gladstone a place in the foremost rank of Christian apologists. But, if we mistake not, there is some danger that the real value of his work in this field may be overlooked or forgotten. In our own days the Christian cause has been defended by some who are more profound thinkers, and by not a few who are better

armed with the weapons of modern science and philosophy, and more fit to grapple with the subtler forms of unbelief. And those who have been bewildered by German philosophy or perplexed by "Higher Criticism" and scientific difficulties, would probably find more help in the works of other writers than in those of Mr. Gladstone. His scholarship and Biblical criticism were largely those of an earlier generation, and it is likely enough that he was tenacious of some points which may reasonably be abandoned. Yet, with all due submission to the claims of advanced critics and other superior persons, it must still be acknowledged that Mr. Gladstone had a large fund of solid learning at his command, and was more than a match for most assailants of religion. Moreover, his words could win a hearing in regions where other teachers would have passed unheeded. And a timely rebuke to the sciolists of the day would come with far more effect from the popular Liberal leader, than from any minister of religion or professor of theology.

Thus, in the opening pages of his thoughtful study on Professor Seeley's "*Ecce Homo*," he sets the then unknown author in favourable contrast with certain other "critics":

And yet this "critic," forsooth, we by and by discover, does not conform to the first law of theological criticism, which seems to be with many not far from this: that every question of history or creed, hitherto held affirmatively, and now admitted to examination, is to be determined in the negative.*

Even those who belong to a more advanced school than Mr. Gladstone and incline to sympathise with many views of modern critics must admit that this sarcasm is not undeserved.

In the same volume, which was published in 1868, about the time of his first accession to the premiership, the author very truly describes the sceptical tendency of the times as in large measure a transition from a "blind reliance" on the popular religious notions to a shallow and unreasoning incredulity.

If there be unreason in this blind reliance there is probably not less but much more unreason shown when the period of reaction comes, and when a credulity carried to excess is replaced in the fashion of the day by an incredulity that wanders and runs wild in the furthest outbreaks

* "*Ecce Homo*," by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, p. 6.

of extravagance, an incredulity, not only which argues from the narrowest premises to the broadest conclusions, but which, oftentimes dispensing with argument altogether, assumes that whatever in religion has heretofore been held to be true is therefore likely to be false, and exhibits a ludicrous contrast between the overweening confidence of men in their own faculties, and their contempt for the faculties of those out of whose loins, with no intervening change of species, they were born. I do not suggest that a description so broad could be justly applied to the present age. But it is in this direction that we have been lately tending, and we have at least travelled so far upon the road as this, that the evidences purely traditional have lost their command (among others) over those large classes of minds which, in other times, before a shock was given or the tide of mere fashion turned, would perhaps most steadily and even blindly have received them. Their minds are like what I believe is said of a cargo of corn on board ship—it is stowed in bulk, and in fair weather the vessel trims well enough, but when there is a gale the mass of grain strains over to the leeward, and this dead weight increases the difficulty and the danger, and does it this way or that mechanically, according to the point of the compass from which the wind may blow (pp. 117-119).

These words show how well Mr. Gladstone could read the signs of the stormy period through which it was his lot to pass, and they show, at the same time, that his own unshaken adherence to religion was no blind or sentimental conservatism. It is well to add that he was careful to avoid one of the most perilous pitfalls of religious champions—an unreasoning hostility to scientific theories, because they happen to be made the ground of objections against religion. This fact was clearly brought out in a friendly skirmish with an eminent scientific philosopher. In the course of an address delivered at the Liverpool College in 1873, Mr. Gladstone had said of the irreligious tendency of the day: "Upon the ground of what is termed evolution, God is relieved of the labour of creation; in the name of unchangeable laws He is discharged from governing the world." On this Mr. Herbert Spencer observed, in the *Contemporary Review* for October 1873, that Mr. Gladstone had "made himself the exponent of the anti-scientific view." This the premier speedily denied in a letter addressed to the editor in the following terms:

To go as directly as may be to my point, I consider this judgment upon my declaration to be founded on an assumption or belief that it contains a condemnation of evolution, and of the doctrine of unchangeable laws.

I submit that it contains no such thing. Let me illustrate by saying, What if I wrote as follows: "Upon the ground of what is termed liberty, flagrant crimes have been committed; and (likewise) in the name of law and order, human rights have been trodden under foot." I should not by thus writing condemn liberty, or condemn law and order; but condemn only the inferences that men draw, or say they draw, from them. Up to that point the parallel is exact; and I hope it will be seen that Mr. Spencer has inadvertently put upon my words a meaning they do not bear. Using the parallel thus far for the sake of clearness, I carry it no farther. For while I am ready to give in my adhesion to liberty, and likewise to law and order, on evolution and on unchangeable laws I had rather be excused. The words with which I think Madame de Staël ends "Corinne" are the best for me: "*Je ne veux ni le blâmer ni l'absoudre.*"*

This attitude of reserve in regard to the question of evolution says much for Mr. Gladstone's penetration. It would have been well if all religious apologists had adopted a like prudent course.†

Let us conclude our specimens of the statesman's theological handiwork with the following fine passage on the doctrine of the Incarnation, and the proposal that it should be abandoned, in order to lighten the burden of belief.

The theist is confronted, with no breakwater between, by the awful problem of moral evil, by the mystery of pain, by the apparent anomalies of waste and of caprice on the face of creation; and not least of all by the fact that, while the moral government of the world is founded on the free agency of man, there are in multitudes of cases enviroing circumstances independent of his will which seem to deprive that agency, called free, of any operative power adequate to contend against them. In this bewildered state of things, in this great enigma of the world, "Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah? . . . Wherefore art thou red in thine apparel, and thy garments like him that treadeth in the winefat?"‡ There has come upon the scene the figure of a Redeemer, human and divine. Let it be granted that the Incarnation is a marvel wholly beyond our reach, and that the miracle of the Resurrection to-day gives serious trouble to fastidious intellects. But the difficulties of a baffled understanding, lying everywhere around us in daily experience, are to be expected from its limitations; not so the shocks encountered by the moral sense. Even if the Christian scheme slightly lengthened the immeasurable catalogue of the first, this is dust in the balance compared with the relief it furnishes to the second; in supplying the most powerful remedial agency ever known; in teaching how pain

* *Contemporary Review*, December 1873, pp. 162, 163.

† Cf. Eduard von Hartmann, "Wahrheit und Irrthum im Darwinismus,"

p. 1.

‡ Is. lxiii. 1, 2; A. V.

may be made a helper, and evil transmuted into good, and in opening clearly the vision of another world, in which we are taught to look for yet larger counsels of the Almighty wisdom. To take away, then, the agency so beneficent, which has so softened and reduced the moral problems that lie thickly spread around us, and to leave us face to face with them in all their original rigour, is to enhance and not to mitigate the difficulties of belief.*

We have left ourselves small space to dwell on other portions of Mr. Gladstone's writings, such as his Homeric studies, his Latin and Italian hymns, and his vigorous versions of Horace and Homer. And we must be content with a mere selection from work so varied and multitudinous. But though these literary labours are of less importance than his relations with religion or his work as a statesman, and can therefore claim only a smaller share of our attention, we cannot well pass them by in absolute silence. A few words on each of the above topics will suffice for our present purpose.

Much that has been said above in regard to Mr. Gladstone's writings in defence of religion may be applied with equal justice to his books and essays on the Homeric question. If we cannot class him in the foremost rank of apologists and theologians, we can scarcely claim for him a higher place among classical critics and commentators. Here, as in the field of theology, he was overshadowed by the forms of greater masters; and while he paid due attention to the discoveries of modern scholars, his own learning was mainly that of an earlier generation. And here, again, the real worth of his work is in some danger of being overlooked or forgotten. We have no wish to disparage the merits of a more advanced criticism, or to match Mr. Gladstone with the masters of modern philology. From such a course, indeed, we might be withheld by his own deference to the scientific authorities of the day. Take, for instance, the following modest admission in a controversy on the "Proem to Genesis." "In a question of etymology, however, I shall no more measure swords with Mr. Max Müller than with Mr. Huxley in a matter of natural science, and this for the simple reason that my sword is but a lath." †

* "Robert Elsmere" and the Battle of Belief," *Nineteenth Century*, May 1888, pp. 786, 787.

† *Nineteenth Century*, January, 1886, p. 21.

But if, as he here acknowledges, there are some departments of classic philology on which others are competent to speak with more authority, there are still some questions of Homeric criticism whereon Mr. Gladstone's own words may well have equal if not greater weight. And this, not in spite of his old-fashioned methods and conservative spirit, but rather by reason of this very fact that he belongs to an older school. A new generation of scholars may throw fresh light on much that was misunderstood by those who went before them. Yet, in too many instances, the gain is accompanied by something of loss. And the disciples of modern masters might find not a little to learn from the despised teachers of an elder generation. Mr. Frederic Harrison even looks back with regret on "the delightful gossipy style of the eighteenth century about 'Tully,' and 'Maro,' and 'Livy,'" adding very truly, "they knew quite as much about them at heart as we do to-day with all our Medicean manuscripts and our 'sic Cod. Vat.'"

There are, moreover, some things in Homer beyond the ken of mere critical scholarship or linguistic science, matters for which the poetic temperament with which Mr. Gladstone was gifted, and his powers as an orator and a statesman, are his best title to speak with authority. We have an instance of this in his effective handling of "The reply of Achilles to the Envoys of Agamemnon." In the preface to his own vigorous version of that speech, Mr. Gladstone says :

One, however, of the points in which Homer seems to me to have been least worthily appreciated is that of his vast oratorical power. This point should be one of special interest to every native of these islands; because that oratorical power is not vague or declamatory, but lies specially in the line of debating oratory, where complication and continuity of structure are to be combined with promptitude of conception and expression, and where every word, as it issues, should go straight as an arrow to its mark.

Of the reply of Achilles, he says :

I know not where to look for its equal in comprehensiveness, in force, in splendour, in sarcasm, and in subtlety.

After the classic taste and poetic power shown in his Homeric and Horatian translations, it is not surprising to find Mr. Gladstone appearing as a writer of Latin verse. And it is quite in keeping with his strong theological bias that this

verse should be concerned with sacred subjects. But it is somewhat remarkable that these hymns should be cast in the rhyming melody of the ecclesiastical poets. Possibly this pleasing touch of mediævalism may have some connection with the writer's devotion to Dante.

But how shall we sum up the result, and grasp this complex career as a whole? To some, indeed, it may seem that there was not one but many Mr. Gladstones in the different stages of his changing course and in his varied activity. Gladstone the Tory High Churchman; Gladstone the Liberal Premier; Gladstone the Home Ruler. Or again, Gladstone the Scholar, the Theologian, the Controversialist, the Christian Apologist, the Orator, the Statesman, the friend of nations struggling for freedom. But this is the judgment of those who look no deeper than the surface. For, in truth, there is an underlying unity in all this seeming multiplicity; and the various strands of his life are closely interwoven. There are traits that foreshadow the coming Liberal leader in the rising hope of the unbending Tories; and a strain of Tory loyalty runs through the career of the advancing Liberal. Nor are the various threads of his versatile activity less closely blended together. There is no need of effort to combine them; we cannot well keep them apart. We catch the voice of the statesman, and feel the faith of the Christian in his scholarly essays on Pagan poetry. His theological controversy is tinged with parliamentary rhetoric, and his political speeches are charged with religious unction. And in his literary and theological work we feel touches of that keen human sympathy which guided his public course, and made his friendships firm and lasting, and his home ties deep and strong and tender. We may say of his life, what he somewhere says of the Olympian theology: "Its dominating spirit is intensely human." It is thus that he stands before us, as we lay our tribute on his tomb, while the jar of strife is forgotten, and the good deeds he wrought remembered.

W. H. KENT, O.S.C.

ART. II.—THE ENGLISH MEDIÆVAL INSTITUTE OF CATHEDRAL CANONS.

Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral, arranged by the late Henry Bradshaw, sometime Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and University Librarian. With illustrative documents. Edited by CHR. WORDSWORTH, M.A. Part II. Cambridge: at the University Press. Two vols.

IT is not intended in this paper to explain the origin and the *rationale* of the institute of secular canons in general, but to consider the subject only in regard to England. Bishop Stubbs, in the preface to a now half-forgotten tract published in 1861,* has written some curious and interesting, though hardly reliable, remarks on the subject of secular canons in England before the Conquest; but it is safe to say that the introduction of the system into England, and certainly into our cathedrals, dates from the advent of the Norman, and its particular form is due to St. Osmund. The regular establishment of the new institute did not take place until after the death of the Conqueror and of Lanfranc. Its essence lay in the definite sundering of what had hitherto been the common funds of the cathedral church, and had been held as such by the bishop, into separate portions; certain estates and revenues being now assigned to the bishop, the rest to the cathedral clergy. This latter portion, again, did not remain common, but was cut up into so many parts as there were members of the church, a part being assigned to each individual absolutely by way of what we should now call benefice. It is clear, of course, how, under these circumstances, the total disappearance of that common life which the cathedral clergy had led together, was only a matter of time, and in most cases of a very short time.†

* "The Foundation of Waltham Abbey" (Oxford: Parker).

† The passage of Stephen of Tournay lamenting the disappearance of the common life of the clergy in the cathedral of Reims is well known. The older *Ordinarium* of that church, dating at the latest from the earliest years of the twelfth century, preserved in the Royal MS. 11 B. xiii. at the British Museum, and now being printed by Chanoine U. Chevalier, still presents many features of the common life as surviving. Of course this common life of the

The charter or *Institutio* of St. Osmund for Salisbury is dated 1091.* In the previous year William Rufus granted a charter for Lincoln.† In the latter document we are in presence of the old cathedral system in its expiring stage; whilst in Osmund's Institution we have for England the clear and definite beginning of the new.

Every item almost of St. Osmund's Institution deserves close attention; but for the line of development actually taken by the cathedral clergy of the new pattern two points in particular are noteworthy. The first is a careful provision for continued enjoyment of the fruits of their prebends by canons who in certain specified circumstances should not be resident. The four dignities, dean, cantor, chancellor and treasurer, must be resident; for the archdeacons, as is reasonable with persons engaged in external cares, the terms are so wide as to leave residence to their discretion or conscience‡ Nothing can excuse the ordinary canons but attendance at the schools, the King's service, § the attendance of one on the archbishop, and of three on the bishop. Moreover, any canon may be absent for a third part of the year if necessary (*si necesse habuerit*), and manifestly necessary (*et hoc fuerit in manifesto*), for the common utility of the church or the particular "utility" ¶ of his prebend. All this in the inception of the institute is good precedent for drawing the money of the church without serving in it.

The second and perhaps more important point is "that the dignity of the dean and of all the canons is that they should be answerable to the bishop in nothing except in the chapter-house, and should be under obedience to the judgment of the chapter only." The same idea of exemption from episcopal interference is carried out in provisions respecting the property

clergy has in reality nothing to do with the later institute called the Canons Regular, the two institutes being based on two radically different principles.

* In "Linc. Stat." ii. 7 *seq.*

† *Ibid.* p. 1 *seq.*

‡ The rise of the archidiaconal system is detailed in a sufficient tract by Alf. Schröder, "Entwicklung des Archidiaconats bis zum elften Jahrhundert" (Augsburg: Kransfelder, 1890); for England see pp. 64-65. But his Anglo-Saxon archdeacons, p. 64, note 20, seem to need reconsideration.

§ This clause in itself, strictly taken, even with the interlineary "unum," does not limit the king to the service of but one canon: "Canonicos nichil potest excusare quin et ipsi residentes sint in ecclesia Sarum, nisi causa scholarum et servitium domini regis qui (unum *interlin.*) habere potest in capella sua." Canon Wordsworth apparently thinks otherwise (p. 803, note).

of the chapter, with the result that the canons "have fully and in peace all the liberties and all the dignities which I, Osmund the bishop, or any one else, had in the prebends when we had them in our possession" (*in nostro dominio*). And thus the *Institutio* constitutes the chapter in what it calls "liberty." But there is another view of the case which may be summed up in the expression that the bishop may, and almost wholly does, wash his hands of his chapter; and so far as his responsibility for his cathedral church and its clergy go—the model church and model clergy of his diocese—he is free. Even disobedience or rebellion (as appears from the last clauses of the document) are not his concern, and his intervention arises (if even then) only when the delinquents are found incorrigible.*

It is necessary to pass over a full century before we can find detailed evidence as to the actual direction taken by the new institute in its course of development. We then obtain a characterisation of it and of its spirit that causes surprise. The denunciation is unmeasured.

As to the secular canons (says the writer) whatever they list is to them a law and licit: under this canon the whole regiment of them lives. They own the world not the world them, and into the depths will it fall because they drive it down. These are they through whom the strength and rule and power of the bishops is tottering and the state of the Church no longer stands. Through them the reverence for the clergy waxes faint and dies, and the honour of religion is brought to nought. By the counsel of these men kings imagine evil things and give the rein to what they ought to control.†

¹²⁷ These words come from the pen of a professed satirist, and the utterances of this class of writers can never be taken literally. They were written, moreover, by a monk of Canterbury cathedral, who had lived through at least the efforts of Archbishop Baldwin to found a college of secular canons at Hackington, close to Canterbury, designed to supplant and supersede the old metropolitical church of southern England. There are strong reasons, therefore, for holding such a source in suspicion. On the other hand, this is no common satirist; he is not merely

* Compare the clear statements on this point of the Lincoln document (p. 4) with the vague terms of St. Osmund's (p. 10).

† "Nigelli Speculum Stultorum" in Wright's "Satirical Poets of the Twelfth Century" (Rolls Series), i. 91-92.

one of the most remarkable writers of that class throughout the Middle Ages, but he was also a man with exceptional opportunities for knowing his time and was in special circumstances that perhaps gave him the will and the courage to open out its weaknesses. He was evidently intimately acquainted with all the great ecclesiastics of his day and the whole range of ecclesiastical life. As own brother of the all-powerful Longchamp, Bishop of Ely,* he might have aspired to honours; but his works give evidence that he had thoroughly and sincerely at heart the best interests of the Church. He shows a sound judgment generally, and, by due attention to what he says, his reader who is a student of the times will almost always be set on the right track towards the truth; he has a particularly keen eye for the tendencies, as yet often not clearly developed, of the various institutions which he passes in review; and he can see good points at the least as clearly as weak ones. What he says, therefore, as to the secular canons is worthy of careful attention; and the actual history of the clergy in England in the twelfth century gives point to his observations.

After all, an institute must be judged not by its intentions or potentialities, but by its actual working after the lapse of a sufficient time to show of what spirit it really is. Of course there was no reason, on account of the exceptional causes of absence allowed for in St. Osmund's *Institutio*, why the canons should not keep up, as the cathedral clergy were designed to do, regular residence; or why discipline should not be maintained, on account of the "liberty" and exemption from the bishop's oversight with which they were endowed. But there were obvious dangers in the new movement which the circumstances of the times might easily aggravate. There is no need to dwell on the subject condition of the country for nearly a century after the Conquest, the practical monopoly of ecclesiastical preferment and influence by the Norman, and the

* I do not see why some writers have been so chary of drawing this conclusion, although the case of Nigel has been before them. It would be interesting to know, on the hypothesis that Nigel and the Bishop of Ely were not own brothers, how the "dilectissime" (p. 189), or "pace tua, Willelme" (p. 222), is to be explained, to say nothing of the whole tone (even in those free-speaking days) of the tract, "Contra curiales et officiales clericos." In this light must be read, it would seem, the "semper diligendus frater Willelmus" of the dedication of the "Speculum Stultorum" (p. 1).

cleft existing between a higher clergy alien in race and speech and a lower native clergy actually ministering to the people throughout the land. Under the Conqueror the foremost ecclesiastic of the realm was also the most powerful man in the State. The policy thus indicated was improved on and carried out systematically by his sons and by the Angevin kings. Of only too many prelates in the twelfth century may it be said that the bishop was the statesman, the politician, the administrator, the king's man, and of the episcopal sees that they were a cheap and easy means at the king's hand for rewarding or securing faithful service to himself. The archidiaconal system was a great easement in these circumstances. As with the bishops, so too in their measure with the holders of cathedral prebends. By the very terms of the model institution of the new secular canons it was recognised that the king could draw to himself and his own use and service, and without loss of their stipend, members of the cathedral church—the pick of the clergy. It was but a step, and an easy one, to reward his creatures by a prebend, though he was not himself the direct patron. The two Henrys were altogether men to see and make use of their opportunities. If we have no precise documentary evidence of the evolution during this age, we are not left without light or guidance as to the character of Court clerics, thanks to gossips so different in character yet so much at one in their general testimony, as Mapes and Peter of Blois and Giraldus Cambrensis. Unfortunately the secularisation of the higher clergy at this time has never been brought into its due place and prominence in our ecclesiastical history. Bishop Stubbs sees the case clearly enough apparently; he, indeed, calls the result “very terrible,” and he speaks of “the paralysis of discipline in the Church itself”; but the causes he assigns seem hardly the real ones, nor do the remedies he suggests seem effective, and when he comes to pass a practical judgment, as in the case of an archbishop like Hubert Walter, we seem to be left to infer that, on the whole, though bad is the best, it *is* the best.* Too ready an acquiescence in such views has had another result, viz., to obscure the great recovery of the English clergy in the

* Preface to “Epp. Cantuar.” (Rolls Series), p. cxiii. *seq.*

thirteenth century, and the revival of the ecclesiastical spirit among them.

But it was too late to change the bent of the institute that concerns us here; *le pli était pris*; its character and working were to be emphasised in the same direction to the end. With the close of the twelfth century materials for its history become abundant in the shape of statutes and other documents, so that we are in a position to see on what lines it had proceeded in the interval since the days of St. Osmund. And in this respect attention is to be directed to four points:

- (1) First, *residence*, its meaning and obligations;
- (2) Secondly, the degree to which *non-residence* prevailed;
- (3) The system of *vicars* entailed by the practice of non-residence; and
- (4) Finally, a word on the effects of the exemption with which the bishops themselves (and they alone) had endowed their chapters.

But in the beginning an observation must be made, of primary importance for the understanding of the subject. This whole institute of secular canons was based upon *custom*, as distinguished from the canonical, or the fixed, rule that had hitherto prevailed. With an inevitable general similarity in practice, and a generally concurrent development, the detail of what prevails in one cathedral is not to be attributed offhand to another, even its next neighbour. Each church has, so far, therefore, to be dealt with on its own account, and its practice and life to be investigated in particular. The small collection of thirteenth-century statutes, given in a text revised on the manuscripts by Canon Wordsworth, is, for the present purpose, sufficient as evidence of general likeness or particular difference.

I. *Residence*. This seems a very simple idea; but as it appears at the end of the twelfth century and in the first half of the thirteenth, it is found to be greatly conditioned, and the facts in regard to this single point may help to explain how a man like Nigel Longchamp, the satirist, who was near enough to the past to retain a full sense of what cathedral residence was meant to be, could show himself so severe in his judgment. York, as presenting apparently the earliest set of statutes, and as recording the view still entertained by the older men in the

closing years of the twelfth century, shall first give the required information. The four *personæ*, the four dignities—that is, the dean, precentor, chancellor and treasurer—were “as if continually resident; not that they were always in residence, but for the greater part of the year.” This rather vague indication is in some measure cleared up by what is prescribed as a fulfilment of the duty of residence on the part of ordinary canons. “Great residence” was completed by presence during twenty-six continuous weeks in the course of the year. “Minor residence” was on this wise: presence for twenty-four weeks in the year, but not necessarily continuous; and it was considered that a canon in minor residence should make an effort (*si id facere possit bono modo*) to be present on great feasts; but it was necessary in this minor residence that twelve weeks should be made in each half of the year, the terms being marked by St. Martin in winter (November 11) and Pentecost.* According to what was then viewed as “the old custom,” it was not permissible that a canon during his residence should leave town in the morning and return in the evening without necessary and urgent cause; in the old days now past and gone such absence for even a day was considered scandalous (*vituperabile et probrosum*), and any one so absent even but twice or thrice in winter was looked on as thieving the fees due to residence (*dicebatur quod communiam residencium furabatur*).† But the redactor of these customs gives us to understand that by the last decade of the twelfth century such strait and puritanical notions had gone out of fashion. This early evidence of alleviation of tedious hours of duty is to be noticed in view of the gradual development of a more large and easy sense in this regard as time went on. It may be asked what was the incidence of “great” as compared with “minor” residence at York at this time. The redactor does not tell us, but from later practice and analogy it may be conjectured that minor residence was to be enjoyed by those who had for a short term of years gone through what may be called the novitiate of “great residence.”

It would be tedious to explain in detail what were the offices

* “Lincoln Stat.” ii. p. 100-102.

† *Ibid.* p. 100-101.

at which the strictness of resident observance entailed actual attendance. At York at this time the canons were to be present at least at vespers, matins, and mass, unless otherwise hindered (*nisi alias fuerint praepediti*).^{*} By 1221 at York progress in relaxation is observable; residents are to be at least present at matins and hours; and absence on one night a week is allowed, or on two if it be not made a custom.[†]

The Hereford Statutes (or customs, as they are called) are of a somewhat later date; but, roughly speaking, they may be taken as representing the practice and ideas of that church about the middle of the thirteenth century.[‡] We have no longer here the old blunt and simple way betrayed by the redactor who sets down what was done at York; to express the same thing the writer uses a scientific terminology, which shows that he had profited by the lessons taught in his own scholastic age; and that whilst firmly resolved to have his own way, he had an equally firm determination not to be answered in the old bald style by an appeal to a case on its merits. He therefore begins by laying down as a proposition admitting of no question, that "residence" is twofold: (a) true, and (b) interpretative. *True* residence (he proceeds) is personal presence in the church, following its office; *interpretative* residence means absence for sixteen weeks in the year, or total absence, by permission of the chapter, on pilgrimage or on the business of the church or at the university (*studiorum causa*); but no absence may be for more than seven weeks at a time, unless definite notice be given, when the continuous absence might extend to twelve weeks. Absence, by one of those easements so frequent in cathedral customs, is to date from the third day from actual departure; for instance, if a canon leaves on Sunday, his absence

^{*} "Lincoln Stat." ii. p. 102.

[†] *Ibid.* p. 106.

[‡] These Hereford customs need "investigating" in German style. I am not at all clear that Canon Wordsworth has hit the mark in supposing the latter portions (p. 78 *seq.*) to have been "originally composed and 'promulgated' in this form by one of the deans of Hereford" perhaps about 1280. To me they seem to proceed from a bishop, not a dean, and from a series of minute observations I am disposed to think that the bishop was Maydeston (1234-9). Hereford is one of the most interesting of the English cathedrals, and other people's ways must not be taken as precedent, in either direction, for that chapter.

begins to count from Tuesday.* The resident canon, moreover, might be absent one night a week at choice, without losing any dues.†

At Lincoln the exact nature of "residence" seems nowhere defined in the thirteenth-century documents. But from the statutes of 1236 it may be gathered to mean presence at the church during two-thirds of the year.‡ Fortunately, however, we receive full information on this and many other points from a Lincoln man well qualified to speak, and a great authority on all Lincoln questions, John de Schalby, who "had been nearly fifty years in office at Lincoln, first as bishop's registrar, and since October 1299 as canon," when, in 1330, he set down for the information of posterity the things (as he says) "which I have seen observed as customs, but have nowhere found put in writing."§ The term of residence at Lincoln, according to him, is thirty-four weeks four days (that is just two-thirds of the year); but it need not be continuous, provided the sum of weeks and days is made up during the term. Unwritten customs had, however, by this time, introduced certain commodities in the way of absence that did not break residence. These were twofold: a canon of Lincoln could, for recreation or other voluntary cause, be away one day a week; but the meaning of this "one day" was, as the Hereford customarius would put it, "interpretative"; that is to say, provided a canon was present in the church at any one hour on the day before his day of absence, and at any one hour on the day following his day of absence, his practical absence of three days was for all purposes of fee and profit counted as presence. Secondly, he could absent himself every alternate Sunday in this wise: leave town on Friday on the same condition as above, returning on Monday to be present in the church that day at any one hour; and, again, this absence would count for the profit implied by fees as presence.||

A century later there had been a change even in this matter of occasional absence. When in 1440 Bishop Alnwick inserted

* "Lincoln Stat." ii. pp. 48-49.

† *Ibid.* p. 53.

‡ "Illi qui per duas partes anni moram integram fecerint in ecclesia" (*ibid.* p. 144).

§ *Ibid.* p. 163 and note 1.

|| *Ibid.* p. 163-164.

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in his abortive New Register of customs the old rule of presence at some one hour in the church on the day of departure and return, "No," said a critic of this Register, on behalf of the chapter, "it should not be so; it is enough that he be in the city."* By this time other changes, much more considerable, had been introduced at Lincoln in the matter of residence by the establishment of the system, borrowed from elsewhere, of "major" and "minor" residence, which in Schalby's days, in 1330, was unknown.† This is how that system worked in Lincoln in the fifteenth century. After three years of "major residence," that is for two-thirds of a year, a canon residentiary could, if he pleased, take up minor residence, which involved only seventeen weeks of attendance at the church during the year. Moreover, custom had introduced a new ground of absentee "residence"—viz., that with the permission of the dean and chapter, a canon, whether in major or minor residence, might, for residence at some court, spiritual or temporal, or in the service of some lord, either spiritual or temporal, be absent from the church during a specified number of years, or for life, and still be held as a residentiary and share in the daily distributions, commons, obits, and other perquisites, just as if he were residing in the church personally. These "dispensations" the bishop absolutely forbids and in the strongest terms annuls: "improbamus et ex nunc prout ex tunc cassamus (et) improbas nullas et invalidas fore declaramus"; and he denounces major excommunication, and further pains and penalties, incurred *ipso facto* by the dispensers and the dispensed.‡

II. Before entering on the question of *non-residence*, with its commodities and drawbacks, the nature of a canon's emoluments must be explained. First, he had the income of his prebend, which might consist of rent of lands, fees, pensions,

* "Lincoln Stat." ii. p. 338.

† I do not see that Canon Wordsworth refers to this change. It seems impossible to conceive that if major and minor residence had existed in Lincoln in his days, Schalby (1330) should not have noticed it. It was already well established by the date of Bishop Alnwick's "Laudum," 1439; from the dean's complaint, p. 201 (10) it would seem that the exact conditions of the two forms of residence were not yet definitely fixed. The bishop speaks of it as an "antiqua et laudabilis ecclesie nostre predictae observata consuetudo" (p. 209), but this must be taken not in the antiquarian but the juridical sense.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 335.

or the rectorial tithes of some church. Thus, the *corpus* of the prebend varied in nature as the prebends themselves varied greatly in value. Thus, for instance, at Lincoln in 1440, the prebend of Nassynton held by the absentee dean was worth £100 a year, which could not be less than £1500 a year, and might well be the equivalent of £2000, of our money. That of All Saints' was worth only a hundred shillings.* Besides each separate prebendal estate, the dean and chapter *in solidum* held property consisting of rents, tithes, or other dues. This common fund was, after payment of all charges of administration, &c., divided (at York and Lincoln) among the canons in actual residence, by a daily payment according to actual attendance at the services of the church. The payment to each canon on this score at York in 1221 was on ordinary days sixpence, a shilling on feasts of nine lessons, and on doubles two shillings.† The residue after these daily payments had been made was divided twice a year, at Pentecost and St. Martin's in winter, in equal shares among those who had made their due residence. At Hereford there were three kinds of commons, the little, the greater, and the cotidian. But whatsoever the variations in detail, the general features in the thirteenth and later centuries are everywhere the same—viz., a prebend, the fruits of which could be enjoyed by a canon whether he were resident or non-resident in his church, and daily and term distributions, made, as a rule, to the residentiaries alone.‡ But the non-residentiaries were also subjected to a special charge; they had to pay a seventh of the income arising from their prebends to the profit of the *communio* of the cathedral church in augmentation of the payments made to the residentiaries who bore the burden of the day and the heats. Moreover, each non-residentiary paid forty shillings a year towards the support of a vicar who should occupy the stall in the cathedral church, and do that service in the church which was left undone by the absentee.

It is now time to ask what was the profit accruing to the non-

* "Lincoln Stat." ii. pp. 311, 309.

† *Ibid.* p. 106; say at least fifteen shillings, £1 10s., and £3 respectively when translated into the power of our present coin.

‡ At York there is the specific provision, as early as the year 1221, that the distribution of commons should be made among those only who had made technical "residence."

residentiary and what service he did for it. To take an example from the time of Henry VIII. : the prebend of Leighton Manor, one of the best in the church of Lincoln, produced a revenue of £68 19s. 2d. gross ; of this the prebendary paid £5 14s. 3d. to Lincoln yearly as his seventh ; to the same for his vicar £2. After all deductions the net income was £57 15s. 1d., which cannot be less than the equivalent of an income of £800 a year at the present time. The usual average of these prebends was between £20 and £30 a year ; some were less. But their true value to the holder can be duly estimated only when we have ascertained the nature and amount of the services rendered in return. Canon Wordsworth, in the section of his preface devoted to "Residence," makes the following remarks :

After describing the mode of installation of a "full canon and member of the Lincoln brotherhood (*confrater noster et concanonicus*)," he proceeds :

The canon's induction to his "exterior prebend" was not performed at Lincoln ; but some one was commissioned to admit him on the part of the chapter at the parish church (presumably) of the prebendal estate, whether it were in Lincolnshire or in some other county. The canons prebendaries had thus divided duties. As they could not be at Lincoln and at their exterior prebends at the same time, they had to take their choice which of the two they would ordinarily serve in person. If a prebendary made up his mind to keep canonical residence at Lincoln, he found it necessary to establish a (parochial) *vicar* to do his duty in Rutland or Northamptonshire, or in his country parish in Lincolnshire, or wherever the estate of his prebend was situated. If, on the other hand, he determined to live upon his prebend, and to minister to his own men, the parishioners residing on it, the statutes required him (unless his estate did not amount to six marks or £4 per annum net) to find a priest as *vicar choral* to follow the choir in his place when he was absent (pp. cxcix. cc.).

As I read this passage the words of old Leland came to mind in regard to two prebends of this very church of Lincoln.

It is said that a B. of Lincolne (he writes), desired by a Pope to give the personage of Alesbury to a stranger, a kinsman of his, found the means to make it a prebende and to *impropriate* it to Lincolne Church. At the which tyme alsoe the personage of Tame was *impropriate* and made a prebende in Lincolne. See that the cures of both the churches, with a right bare livinge, be reject unto the vicars.*

* Leland, "Itin." IV. p. 122 (ed. 1744).

On the face of it Leland's account of at least these two prebends will not square with Canon Wordsworth's presentment; for we know what inappropriate, or appropriate, rectories are. It needs no inquiry into the nature of the *corpus* of each prebend to come to the facts in this matter. A source no more recondite than that inestimable document, Henry VIII.'s *Valor*, gives sufficient information. From that source it appears that out of fifty-two Lincoln prebends, in one case only, that of Scamlesby, did the prebendary (Mr. Doctor Horsley) serve the parish cure as *rector ibidem*; and not even did he "minister to his own men" (if I rightly understand the expression), for he received from Scamlesby only the income of his rectory, the prebendal lands, on which we may presume were his "own men," being in Melton Rosse. In every other case such parochial cure by the prebendary himself is precluded by the fact that (apart from one or two chapelries,* the chaplains of which were paid by the prebendary) these cures were vicarages, and the rectories were (as Leland has it) "improperiate to Lincoln Church."†

In other words, the non-resident prebendaries were sinecurists, and beyond the payment of sevenths and £2 a year to the choir vicar in Lincoln, they received an income sometimes large and sometimes small, according to the value of the prebend held, and did nothing in return. Such benefices had

* And a few small prebends arising from pensions, &c.

† In some quarters misapprehension seems to exist as to these vicarages. A justly popular writer (and his remark embodies a very generally prevailing impression) has observed that wherever we find a vicarage we may be sure that the rectory was impropriated to some monastery. This is not so. A rectory might be thus appropriated to, and its profits made part of the revenue of, not only a monastery, but any other ecclesiastical institution, cathedral church, collegiate church, college in a university, &c. &c., the incumbencies being constituted "vicarages." Whatever the nature of the corporation to which the "rectory" (*i.e.*, its profits) had been appropriated, whether monastic or not, the holders of such vicarages were on the same footing as regards their (perpetual) tenure, and their relations towards the bishop as the responsible *pastor animarum*, and to the parishioners, with the care of whose souls the vicar was invested on institution. The subject is an embarrassing one to investigate; it has been said by some persons that there are practical reasons why it has been thought desirable to let the whole question rest in confusion or obscurity. But history has nothing to do with these measures of prudential reserve. Perhaps the best introduction to the nature and extent of impropriations for our present purpose may be a rapid but attentive perusal of a score of pages every here and there of the tables to be found at pp. 1-449 of the privately printed "Alienated Tithes" of the late Mr. Henry Grove, an instructive and important volume, the result of the assiduous labour of two and twenty years.

this advantage, that it was possible to hold several in different cathedral churches at the same time without inconvenience, or that incompatibility of duties so commonly attaching in our minds to the idea of pluralities. Hence also, although a natural cause of heartburning in some quarters, the payment of prebendal incomes into pockets at Avignon instead of into pockets in England did not come home to people in those days with the sense of glaring impropriety now felt by persons who conceive that a canon of Lincoln, neither resident and serving in the church of Lincoln, nor "ministering to his own men" in the parish church of his country prebend, but resident in Avignon or in Rome, was receiving money on false pretences. In a sense this is true; but only in the sense in which this condemnation must involve the great majority of his "fellow canons and brethren," the English holders of English prebends. For in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the great majority of these canons were non-resident, and what we should call sinecurists. It must, however, have been felt to be an abuse of quite another order when deaneries and dignities still commonly supposed to involve actual residence were conferred on absentee foreigners.

But if this distinction should be remembered in considering the question of English benefices held by such persons, it is vastly more important, from the historian's point of view, to realise the actual state of things in regard to non-residence in our cathedrals at home at this period. The time may not have yet passed—but it is passing—when the professed historian or the competently informed layman can attribute the English Reformation to any love on the part of the people at large, of whatever rank, for the Reformed doctrines, or any eager desire to embrace them. It is seen on the one hand, that among the actual factors in the change of religion, no slight importance is to be assigned to the greed of individuals and the lust for wealth on the part of those in place and power. On the other hand, it must be recognised how much the work of these men was facilitated by practical abuses existing in the Church herself. But before any sort of judgment can be passed, it is important to know precisely what these abuses were, their real nature, and their extent. This is a field in which the specialist, the man of minute investigations, and even (with

certain limitations) the antiquary may usefully employ himself. Nor should such work be disdained or despised, for if it is to be done properly and its results are to be really useful, it requires in the execution such qualities as good sense, justness of mind, freedom from prejudice, and even critical power. But it is somewhat disconcerting to find that an editor engaged for many years over such a work as the "Lincoln Statutes" has failed to perceive the very point on which it most imports that the historian be informed, has failed, in a word, to understand the dominant fact of an all-prevailing sinecurism in our capitular bodies, substituting for the facts ideas derived from modern practice, or, to speak perhaps more correctly, modern aspirations.

The value of these considerations will appear in passing on to inquire what was the proportion of residentiaries to non-residentiaries in Lincoln Cathedral.

Canon Wordsworth prints a useful table throwing light on this subject. Lincoln had some fifty-six prebendal stalls. During the century 1250-1350 the number of residentiaries seems (including the dignities) to have been about fifteen; for the century 1350-1450 about seven or eight; thenceforward about five or six.* Therefore the number of *ordinary* canons residentiary (that is, not dignitaries) in Lincoln at the last period would be about three or four or less, and in 27 Henry VIII., at the taking of the *Valor*, it is stated to be two.† Two documents printed by Rymer throw light on the state of things at St. Paul's in the second half of the fourteenth century. The first proceeds from Edward III., in January 1371, not long after the death of Queen Philippa. The arraignment of the cathedral clergy for enormities in general terms is startling; but when looked into, the complaints appear to come from the non-residentiaries and to resolve themselves into this—that the *communia* and farms of the chapter are turned to the particular *commodum* of the residentiaries, to the degrading and to the *incommodum* of the non-residentiaries, "a great part of whom," says the King (and this is the

* Vol. ii. pp. cciv.-v. The meetings of 1258, 1314, and 1331 were evidently like the meeting of June 8, 1439 (ii. 427-429), a great "general" convocation for dealing with a specially important matter.

† "Valor Eccl." iv. 14.

important point here), "are our *familiares*, good servants of ours, and whose interests in this matter are the present business."* In other words, the distribution of the common funds of the chapter was, as at York, confined to the canons who "resided" and actually took part in divine services in the cathedral church. A similar document of Richard II. dated April 16, 1399, on the subject of the same grievances of the non-residentiaries, demonstrates the unreasonableness of their exclusion from the daily and terminal distributions by the speaking fact that (to say nothing of four archdeacons and four dignities) out of thirty canons only two were residentiaries, "and these two," says the King, indignantly pointing the absurdity of the case, "usurp all the emoluments of the said church"; that is to say, the emoluments arising from the common funds, over and above the value of each man's prebend.†

It can be understood from its nearness to the Court how easily this state of things came about at St. Paul's, and how fatal in their result were the provisions of St. Osmund's *Institutio*. The case is doubtless an extreme one; that of Lincoln may be so too. To know the real facts special investigations are necessary for each cathedral. But there can be no doubt that the tendency towards non-residence was general, and that, in fact, the actual maintenance of the divine service in the cathedral churches (for which in its origin, and still in theory at least, the chapter existed and had been endowed) fell upon the canons' vicars, with a few members of the chapter itself, mostly dignities and a very small number of ordinary canons, as a sort of body of higher clergy to manage the property of the church and keep the lower clergy in order.‡

III. The cathedral *vicarships* appear at Lichfield and at

* Rymer (orig. ed.), vi. 678. In Bliss's "Calendar of Petitions to the Pope," vol. i. p. 475, is a document bearing on the subject; the statements it contains do not seem on the face of them very credible.

† *Ibid.* viii. 74.

‡ The theory that "some of the prebendaries made a point of coming up for a few months at a time . . . and then gave place to others in a regular cycle" (p. ccvi.) is a tempting one; but it is based, I fear, not on fourteenth and fifteenth century practice, but on nineteenth-century ideals. It at present lacks evidence; is not precisely countenanced by the regular constitution of vicars; is attended with other difficulties; and is contradicted (for a late period) by the roll of *Re* and *Ve* for nine months, 1471-2 (pp. 820-823, 812-817).

York at least as early as the close of the twelfth century.* Though the residentiaries at York, as well as canons non-resident, seem to have had vicars,† it is clear that the system can only owe its origin to a considerable failure on the part of the canons to do their duty of service in the church; and a large amount of non-residence is indubitably the explanation of their introduction. By the first decade or two of the thirteenth century vicarships were, there can be no doubt, the generally established institute, though there is evidence that a church distant and obscure like Hereford, in which too the common life had been established before the Norman prebendal model came in, lagged behind in the matter. This is still more the case with Exeter, to which the same remarks apply.‡ But it is continually stated in the Exeter documents of the thirteenth century that the object of changes made is to bring the church more into conformity with the arrangements prevailing in other cathedral churches of this realm; and these models showed an ever-increasing laxity in the matter of canonical residence. The evidence in print seems, however, to point to better practice at Exeter than is to be found at Lincoln.§

Still the important point is clear—viz., that by the fourteenth century the real ministers of the cathedral churches in England generally, those who bore the main burden of divine service, were practically lower-class stipendiaries, the vicars; whilst the persons for whom the endowments of these cathedrals had been provided, and to whom according to the model Institution of St. Osmund they had been assigned, subtracted

* "Linc. Cath. Stat." ii. p. 17, 103. The dean at York has a vicar (p. 92).

† *Ibid.* p. 118. So too at Lichfield (p. 32); and Chichester ("Archæologia," xlv. 179 (A.D. 1232).

‡ It is interesting to observe how much more "observant" the smaller cathedrals were than the greater and more opulent. Thus at Chichester, according to the Statutes of 1247, technical "residence" meant a whole year's residence; but to the canons residentiary was granted (*juxta consuetudinem quarundam ecclesiarum*—not Chichester "custom," but a mere imported relaxation) a leave of three weeks every quarter on permission obtained of the dean or his locum tenens ("Archæologia," xlv. 186). There was a beginning already of major and minor residence, "full" and "semi-full" were the terms here (p. 188). At Chichester they were evidently solicitous as to the creeping in among them of the bad ways of other people (pp. 189–190). But the system of non-residence here as elsewhere was already well established (*cf.* pp. 207, 160, 185).

§ The earliest Exeter document I find mentioning vicars is one of the year 1299 (Oliver, "Lives of the Bishops of Exeter," p. 51). But their institution is of course earlier.

themselves from the duties attaching to their position. In the following age Bishop Alnwick, in his *New Register* for Lincoln, which, with all his trouble and patience he could not carry through, thus recognises the situation: * "No parts of the stipends (he says) due to the vicars and other (inferior) ministers of the church must be cut off or diminished on account of disputes in the body of the chapter; but in any all-round payments to canons and vicars and ministers, the vicars and ministers are always to have a first claim. We do not hereby prefer them before the brethren (*i.e.*, the canons) in honour or dignity; quite the contrary; but we act only on this consideration, namely, that as the poor of Christ and of His Church they have nothing else whereby they can live." But when he comes to speak of the holders of prebends, the dignities and residentiaries, his tone is very different: "Let not the canon residentiary be too much given to blood-letting," which meant three days' holiday, "beyond what is needful: for God is not mocked, nor is a lie possible towards Him who sees into the inmost heart. And since to reside in the church is to serve the church in the divine offices, what is the use of the presence of a canon on the spot if he be not present at the actual rendering of the divine service on account of which the church was richly endowed by princes and prelates long ago? That they appear not to be on the hunt in the church for nothing else but temporal commodity, we order and command that every canon residentiary of our church frequent the choir in the same, at the day and night hours, to sing, to read, to pray, assiduously as human nature will allow; for we exact no more than a moderate assiduity. We do not mean that he should be obliged to be every day and night at all the hours; but every day he should be present at least at one canonical hour or the high mass of that day."† The burden on the residentiary, therefore, was not at this time excessive, though I venture to think it would be an unduly rigid deduction to infer as a consequence from the law just laid down that this represents the maximum or even common level of duty observed by the canons. Such laws are made for the lazy and the laggard.

* Vol. ii. p. 337.

† *Ibid.* pp. 324-5. By this time offices were said by way of accumulation.

It is one of the merits of these volumes that they not merely present us with statutes and customs, but that they in many ways afford materials for penetrating into actual life. The most important document in this respect is unquestionably the text of the visitation of the cathedral church of Lincoln in 1437, which Canon Wordsworth has been well advised to print, long as it is, *in extenso*.^{*} Records of visitations, it has come to be recognised, are among the most valuable sources of information for church life in the later Middle Ages. But the due understanding and interpretation of them is not given to every antiquary. There are those (and this remark applies in the present case to some extent) who have not yet surmounted the initial difficulty created by the words *detecta*, things brought to light, and *comperta*, things found out. The meaning, it is true, varies with the character of the document. In the visitation now printed the *detecta* and *comperta* are the *procès-verbal* of what was communicated to the visitor *sub secreto* by each of over a hundred members of the church of Lincoln as to what seemed to him amiss among them; the whole being noted down without regard to, or opinion on, the truth or falseness of the report, but as mere record that so-and-so was said by such-and-such a person. "There is much immorality among the canons and others," is Canon Wordsworth's verdict.[†] Subject to the production of Bishop Alnwick's injunctions, I should have gathered, weighing the *comperta* as evidence and after an analysis of that evidence, that there was one immoral person among the members of the church, the chaplain, John Skynner; that this same Skynner, Robert Boy, and the inhabitants of the absentee dean's kitchen were a united crew, whose word was as worthless as their conduct; and that the dean, like many men of his character, lent a ready ear to his tattling (and in this case disreputable) servants. As to the complaint against Mr. Precentor Burton, an opponent of the dean with too much of the latter's spirit, *non liquet*. Leaving these "charges of a graver kind," the impression left on me by the document is that the vicars at Lincoln were, as a body, quiet-living men who did their duty, and were really desirous of doing it in a

^{*} *Ibid.* pp. 366-415.

[†] P. clxxiv.

becoming manner, though there is a black sheep and a proportion of troublesome and careless folk among them. The "poor clerks" and lowest ministers have all the merits attaching to drudgery and poverty; they wanted some reasonable subsistence, but had it not; and there is something almost hopeless and resigned in the tone of their very complaints. The singing-men have clear notions as to their creature comforts. But all seem to compare favourably with the residentiaries, who appear as a quarrelsome, cantankerous, and self-important set. If there is not a positive excuse for them, there is at least an explanation which must appeal to all acquainted with the case. Dr. Macworth was then and had long been Dean of Lincoln; he deserves a monograph to himself. Perverse, stubborn, opposite, presumptuous, proud and greedy for power, puffed up with a sense of his own position, which was in any case a great one, and desirous to annul to his own profit and absorb in his own person the rights of his "brethren"; eager on every occasion to gratify a vanity that could not be satisfied; litigious, keen, acute, and resourceful; an absentee dean, yet claiming the powers, rights, pre-eminences, privileges, and generally the profits of residence; violent even to the point of brawling and fisticuffs in his own cathedral church, and ready to make as much fuss over the failure to give him enough "waves of incense" in choir as if it were a question of the possession of the deanery itself, Dr. Macworth seems to have possessed just those gifts proper for teaching his neighbours how to acquire angelic patience, whilst those neighbours were quite human; and during a long incumbency of forty years, Dean Macworth may be described as the grand cross of Lincoln, and is an example how one man sufficiently ill-conditioned may make a whole community unhappy, and bring out of others the worse side instead of the better. The actual state of the case must be borne in mind by such as would duly weigh the real meaning and value of this episode of cathedral history detailed in Canon Wordsworth's volumes.

By the middle of the fifteenth century the defects inherent in Osmund's Institution, which time and the actual turn of its development had made its prominent characteristics, were apparent to every one. The first is the practical exemption from episcopal control, whereby the chapters not infrequently

became opponents of one who should have been their head, and in defence of their privilege and "liberty," not uncommonly rendered nugatory every effort of the bishop to correct and reform. And this was an original vice of their first constitution. In the next place, the institute had become predominantly a system of sinecurism.* There is no reason, even in this case, why these preferments should not have been assigned, at least in great measure, to useful purposes, germane to the objects designed by the founders. They might have been given to heads of colleges or deserving scholars, for instance. But only too often they received quite another destination; and the frugal and prudent Henry VII., and his son still more, found them a convenient means, as earlier Henrys had done, to reward secular services to the State. The greedy and ill-paid lay officials thus saw clerics richly rewarded from ecclesiastical revenues for work that was not ecclesiastical. The result was inevitable, and the system, as it was in fact worked, and in spite of the merits of individuals, only served at length to give an impetus to the movement which, initiated in the desire for acquiring spoil from the church, ended in a change of religion. Whatever may be thought of a man like Dean Haynes and his views and objects, and his personal greed as displayed in his own actions as dean, there can be no doubt that his scheme, about 1540, for a "pastor and (eleven) preachers" for the church of Exeter was in some respects an approximation to the older cathedral system. But even in this proposal he makes wide provision for non-residence of the "pastor" or the "preachers," on the score of employment on the business of "the kyng's majeste," whether as ambassadors to foreign princes, or in any other capacity at home and abroad.† It would seem as though by this time such ideas had become inseparable from the notion of cathedral preferment.

Canon Wordsworth, following an honoured exemplar,‡ raises his hands in thankfulness that the English Reformation rid the country of the past abuses of the cathedral system :

Knowing what we do of the internal life of Lincoln [he writes], we do not hesitate to say that even in the lowest ebb of spiritual life in the

* Mr. Bliss's "Calendar of Petitions to the Pope" is highly instructive from this point of view.

† Oliver, "Lives," p. 477 seq.

‡ P. 679 seqq.

latter years of King George III., or under the Regency, our cathedral was in a less corrupt and unhealthy state than it was in the days when Bishop Alnwick held his visitations. In spite of our disgust at some of the methods and the tools of the Reformation in the sixteenth century, and notwithstanding our affection for the exquisite beauty of much which the men of that time destroyed, we are bound to admit in common honesty that an English Reformation was the only hope for the church in Lincoln, and that so long as leave should be sought either in Rome alone, or in the chapter as it then existed, for effecting any improvement worthy of consideration, nothing could be effectually done (p. clxxii).

This gratulation is subject to two remarks. First, it seems doubtful whether (the question of purity of doctrine apart) the state of the English cathedral churches and their dependencies after the establishment of Protestantism was really any improvement on what had gone before. It is true the clergy were married and the burden of clerical duty was greatly diminished. The "note of presentments" at Bishop Chader-ton's visitation in 1607 seems to show that the state of the church of Lincoln had then reached a lower level than anything yet known: the plea is now that there should be at least one residentiary; it is stated that the choir seldom came to service, especially the priest vicars; that there was "drunkenes, talkinge, and going out in service time, &c. "; that "the close is become a place of great licentiousnes, especially in alehouses, which for ther number and disorder cause the governement of this church to be hardly censured." But the condition of the cathedrals would be only one item of the inquiry whether religion was in better honour, respect, and observance throughout the country at the close of the sixteenth century than at the beginning.

Secondly, on the more general question whether "an English Reformation was the only hope" for an effectual improvement in English cathedral establishments, the answer is short but conclusive in an appeal to facts. The idea to which Canon Wordsworth here gives expression can only arise from an excessive concentration on domestic history and a want of knowledge of what happened elsewhere. Let the inquirer turn to the Council of Trent, sess. xxiv. cap. xii. for a programme of reform; and next peruse the relative sections of provincial and other synods of at least the next half-century to

be found in print in the various collections of councils. This will suffice for the theoretical side of the question ; it remains to test it by the practical. The inquirer can satisfy himself whether and how this theoretical reform was carried into practice by acquainting himself with the actual condition and working during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of the cathedral chapters of France, where the same abuses had existed in the Middle Ages as in England ; and he will find himself (to use Canon Wordsworth's expression) "bound to admit in common honesty," not merely that "an English Reformation was" not "the only hope" of effectually dealing with the abuses of the English mediæval capitular system, including that feature which St. Osmund terms its "liberty," but that the "foreign" Reformation, if it could have been applied to a Catholic England, would have been effectual for reform with a thoroughness that the English Reformation never even dreamed of attempting, and would have made (as in France) the cathedral chapters worthy of the dignified and respectable position which such bodies were intended to hold in the church and in the minds of both clergy and laity.

In the treatment of the subject it has been necessary on more than one occasion to advert to a grave defect in Canon Wordsworth's volumes—viz., an unduly imperfect apprehension of the institute to which they relate, its history, nature, and working ; and this defective knowledge is by no means confined to the points incidentally touched on. The editing of the documents is defective also ; the text seems too often to render not what the mediæval writer wrote, but what the nineteenth-century reader read. Too much must not be made of peccadilloes of this latter kind ; but the draft on forbearance in this case is excessive. Still, with these drawbacks, I esteem the book to be one of the most important contributions to the church history of England in the Middle Ages that has appeared of late years. Though it is desirable that it should be supplemented by some similar collection for other cathedrals, say Salisbury and Hereford, the work is for its subject fundamental, and cannot in the most favourable circumstances be superseded.

It would be unpardonable to close this article without mentioning one whose name is inscribed with honour on the

title as the originator of the book, the late Henry Bradshaw. Had he been spared to see it completed, and this "piece of work turned out clean," as he somewhere says, there can be no doubt that his fastidious care would have avoided much that now disfigures it. But, without throwing any reflection on the laboured diligence of the actual editor, it may be said that to the insight, the fine historical tact, of the late Cambridge University librarian, the work owes its value; for he first saw how the subject must be dealt with if it was to yield results, to say nothing of the fact that it was he also who conducted all the most difficult part of the work of actual investigation. He first made a way through the tangled path; and through his labour that path is now easy for those who come after him to tread. If I may pay the tribute of my own experience, I must say that, though the subject of the development of the canonical institute in the twelfth and succeeding centuries (I say nothing here of the earlier period) has long and often engaged my attention, it is in this book that the later mediæval cathedral institute revealed itself to me in its reality; and that by the means, as entirely simple as they are effectual, divined by the genius of the late Henry Bradshaw.

EDMUND BISHOP.

ART. III.—THE CHURCH AND THE UNIVERSITIES: BOLOGNA AND PARIS.

The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages. By HASTINGS RASHDALL, M.A. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis. Edited by Fr. H. S. DENIFLE and M. CHATELAIN. 3 vols.

Histoire de la Faculté de Théologie à l'Université de Paris. Par l'Abbé PIERRE FERET. 4 vols. Paris: Picard.

THE successful petitioning of the Holy See for a conditional permission for the residence of Catholic students at our English universities, and the present active agitation for a Catholic university for Ireland, are evidence sufficient of the importance attached to university education by the Catholics of the United Kingdom. The grant by the enlightened Pontiff still happily reigning marks a new era in the history of Catholic education in these islands. For three centuries we had been compelled by penal legislation, religious tests, or the perils to be apprehended for the faith of a small and despised minority from its mingling with those opposed to it, to train our youth abroad or in the seclusion of our own struggling colleges. A necessity at first, this course was afterwards maintained as a policy of prudence, which, in spite of its limitations, was not without its advantages. It produced men loyal above all things to the faith which was so precious, if not an only inheritance, and learned beyond what their narrow means would have led us to expect. It was well for the days of persecution in which it was thrust upon us, and during the times in which it was voluntarily continued. But with the granting of religious liberty, in view also of the changed temper of our countrymen towards us, and in the face of a movement in the direction of our long-reprobated belief, a feeling arose that a departure from the old lines must be made if we were to take our part in the civil life of the country, and the Church was to profit with full effect from her opening opportunities. The

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legal ban had been lifted from the Catholic name, and men could scarcely persist in regarding as a mere superstition the doctrines by which the highest intellects, reared and strengthened in the very nurseries of Protestantism, were being led willing captives. As toleration was taking the place of former scorn it was the plain duty of Catholics to break away from their old isolation, to mingle with their fellows, and so fit themselves for new activities in the civil life of the nation. Thus, quite apart from the love of learning for learning's sake, the need of taking our place in the march of educational progress, and of a clearer apprehension of the standpoint from which our countrymen were accustomed to view intellectual and religious problems in the cross-lights of recent discovery, forced upon Catholics the reconsideration of their position. The Holy See was again consulted, with the result that, under certain restrictions and protected by certain safeguards, our youth are again allowed to go into residence at the national universities, which by the munificence of our forefathers in the faith had grown up under the fostering care of the Church. A beginning has already been made in a small way both at Oxford and Cambridge, where Catholic memories are so abiding and so many, that our return is not unlike a home-going after a long and painful exile.

The sad history of the way in which these heirlooms of the Church were lost to us through the Reformation has already been narrated in the pages of the DUBLIN REVIEW. In the present article it is our desire to sketch the origins of the university, and to show that the universities of the early Middle Ages, far from being the outcome of "a great systematic effort of the lay mind to achieve self-assertion and emancipation," as Mr. Gladstone contended, were rather a growth within the Church, with her approval, and under her regulation. The way has been cleared for us by Mr. Rashdall's noble volumes, which embody a masterly survey of the origin and development of the mediæval university. Difficult as was the task he undertook, it had been rendered still more arduous and complicated by the comparatively unexplored nature of the ground he had to work. A host of uncritical writers, in their anxiety to trace an ancient and splendid pedigree for their respective universities, had accumulated vast masses of ignorance and

inaccuracy which blocked the way, and by their conflicting testimonies had bewildered the mind of a painstaking historian. Nor were these difficulties lessened by the number and apparent diversity of university institutions and the almost impenetrable obscurity in which the origins of many are enveloped.

It is undoubtedly one of the praises of our own days that history has at last come to be studied with a patient thoroughness and written with an impartial accuracy which perhaps no previous age can show. So strong was the hold which the legend of the darkness of the Middle Ages had obtained that even as late as 1860 we find Matthew Arnold speaking of their irrationality, and laughing at the folly of those who took them seriously. That verdict, happily, has been reversed. As the future is moulded by the present, so is the present the outcome of the past. The early Middle Ages were a great formative period, during which movements and events surged and swayed in the darkness of a troubled time before they gradually gathered sufficient impetus and, as it were, volition of their own to set and flow in one definite direction. The human mind was still struggling for light and utterance, whilst the foundations of great institutions were being broadly, though almost unwittingly, laid. Three great forces, or "virtues," as Jordanus calls them, energised those times, and by their harmonious co-operation built up and maintained the mighty fabric of mediæval Christendom—*Sacerdotium*, *Imperium*, *Studium*. Each was a reality. As the power of the priesthood had its visible head and source in the Papacy, as secular authority was derived from the Holy Roman Empire, so too could the great streams of knowledge which fertilised Christendom be traced as to their fountain-head to the universities. Each represents the attempt to realise ideals of life, which by their embodiment in institutions passed into historic forces that can never lose their power. In religion the Papacy, in politics the Empire, and in the sphere of intellect the University were the great achievements of the Middle Ages, and their origin and development reveal to us "the whole bent and spiritual character of the age to whose life they became organic."*

The first two had already gained large attention from

* Rashdall, vol. i. p. 5.

scholars, and had been the subjects of investigations comparatively thorough before the third was even taken seriously in hand. But Father Denifle, O.P., the sub-archivist of the Vatican, and Mr. Rashdall have changed all that. Both set out boldly upon the "unchartered sea of original research" into the sources and growth of university institutions, and each independently came to almost identical conclusions. Father Denifle was first in the field with an instalment of his great work, "*Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400*," in 1885, and ten years later Mr. Rashdall followed with the work named at the head of this article. The volumes of the latter, though thus deprived of a good deal of the novelty and originality which would have been theirs, are, as Mr. Rashdall readily confesses, less incomplete and inadequate than they would otherwise have been. So far, Father Denifle has only treated of the origins of universities in existence before 1400; Mr. Rashdall has taken a wider range. His endeavour, as he tells us in his preface, has been to describe with tolerable fulness the great archetypal universities, and to give short notices of the others, arranged in national groups, with especial attention throughout to their constitutional history. The undertaking was sufficient to stagger any spirit less bold. The ground was vast, heaped with unsorted raw material, and full of complicated detail. But he has accomplished his task with a success which, on the whole, the most captious critic would find it hard to gainsay. There is no "undigested empire" about his book. It is a lucid exposition, full of significant and effective grouping, lit with countless side-lights, yet unfalteringly informed with one central idea, presented in a style at once polished, clear, and vigorous. By his skilful clearing away of uncertainty and misconception, his masterly marshalling of facts and forces, and his disciplined and critical sagacity, he has gradually raised before our eyes the splendid fabric of the mediæval university as it slowly unfolded itself from the working of irresistible forces under the patronage and guiding hand of the Church.

He raps the one-man theory till its hollowness rings again. Like Father Denifle, he deals remorselessly with the venerable fictions of Imperial founders. He proves that the mediæval university was the result of no sudden act, but the natural

growth of a definite epoch, the grafting of a scholastic organisation on the existing educational system which it completely transformed. We may not be able to agree with him in his jealousy of monastic influence; we may even think that he is at times unduly hard on the mendicants, but there can be no question that his work teems with evidences of the influence exerted by the Church upon the nascent university system. That influence proves to be somewhat different from what many ardent but shallow people imagined, but it is there all the same—a work of unfailing vigilance and fostering care that knew when to encourage and defend, and that lacked not the spirit to repress.

What this work of the Church was we can do little more than indicate within the limits of the present article in the case of the two great archetypal institutions at Bologna and Paris. To this, taking Mr. Rashdall as our chief guide, we now proceed. It is necessary, however, at the outset to make clear what the mediæval university really was, for its origin is the true key to its later development.

I.

If we would learn the nature and mysterious source of the mediæval university we must rid our minds of the common explanation so diligently given—that it was a school in which all branches of knowledge were taught. Nor was the university, in the beginning, such as that with which we are now familiar. Apart from “constitutional monstrosities,” like London and Victoria, to which we loosely apply the term, our notion of a university is obtained from what we see and know of such places as Oxford and Cambridge. Nowadays, says a recent writer,

we commonly imagine a university as a vague kind of educational body, with a mysterious machinery of colleges and professors, more or less endowed, supplying higher education to a mass of all sorts and conditions of students, who, on satisfying certain requirements, are finally hall-marked with a degree and so become graduates of the institution.

To those who have been in residence the conception is of course much more vivid and splendid, as may be seen from Macaulay’s description in his speech on the Maynooth Grant. We have

thus grown accustomed to associate with the idea of a university a great cluster of magnificent cloistered colleges, munificently endowed and beautifully situated, where learning is surrounded with pomp and circumstance. And all this grandeur has been generally regarded as a gradual development out of the initiative of some historic patron of learning such as King Alfred at Oxford, Charlemagne at Paris, and Theodosius at Bologna. How far such ideas are from the truth will presently appear. But the university is none the less wonderful because its origin is so different from what we have been accustomed to believe.

The university system is not to be explained by the action of one man or by the movement of one day. It is rather the outcome of fortuitous conditions according to the character of the age in which it arose, the gradual growth from the needs of an epoch, the reflex of a common idea not transmitted from ancient schools. The extension of the feudal power in the eleventh century, which rendered perilous the isolation of the landless and the freemen, at a time when the old ties of family were proving insufficient for mutual protection, caused men to seek safety in association. It was this system of association—the guild system—which was so effectively adopted by masters and scholars in the towns where they assembled for study. Cardinal Newman had to confess, in his "University Lectures," that the original reason of the adoption of the word was unknown, but in a foot-note he gave the significant hint that in Roman law the term signified a corporation. Here it will be seen he touched the secret of the difficulty. As Mr. Rashdall reminds us, at the close of the twelfth century the word was applied to corporations of masters or students, as well as to guilds and municipalities. That it has come to be restricted to an educational body is by the same accident that the terms convent, corps, congregation, and college have been similarly restricted. Thus the word university denoted the academic institution in the abstract, not the schools or town which held them, which were known as a *studium* or *studium generale*. And a *studium generale* denoted not a place where all subjects were taught and studied, but a place where students from all parts were received for the purpose of instruction in the higher branches of knowledge.

The university is therefore really a combination of the two ideas conveyed in the terms *universitas* and *studium generale*. At the beginning of the thirteenth century certain of these *studia* enjoyed an established and transcendent prestige. The fame of their professors attracted multitudes of students and gained a respect for their examinations which conferred a title for learning of ecumenical validity. A Master who had been admitted into the Magisterial Guild at Bologna and Paris was certain of permission to teach elsewhere. Hence arose the power of conferring the *jus ubique docendi*. Springing at first from custom, this power, which was the characteristic of the *studium generale*, came, in the latter half of the century, to be regarded as the principal object of papal or imperial creation. This was owing to the foundation of such *studia* at Naples by Frederick II. in 1224, at Toulouse by Gregory IX. in 1229, and at the Pontifical Court itself in 1245 by Innocent IV. And so we get a twofold division of the *studia generalia*—those which owed their statutes to custom, and those which were placed on the same level by a papal bull or imperial charter of foundation, which even the older universities, recognising their value, afterwards made it their business to secure.

It must be remembered, however, that the two ideas of a *universitas* and a *studium generale* were not, to begin with, necessarily connected. Similarity of trade, profession, or pursuits supplied a bond, quite apart from the need of mutual protection, which would sufficiently account for the formation of guilds of scholars or masters long before the development of the *studium generale*. "The scholastic guilds," says Mr. Rashdall, "were the spontaneous products of that instinct of association which swept like a great wave over the towns of Europe in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries."* Those of Bologna and Paris, concurrently with the growth of the *studium*, obtained a development and importance achieved nowhere else. Succeeding unauthorised *studia* sprang into existence through secessions of masters or students from these two great parent institutions, and so were reproductions of the types already fixed by the *universitas* being considered the inseparable accompaniment of the *studium generale*, and finally as synonymous

* Vol. i. p. 18.

with it. We may thus broadly define the mediæval university as a combination of a *studium*, whose degrees conferred the *jus ubique docendi*, with a *universitas* of scholars or masters—a scholastic organisation possessing more or less uniform privileges which had been derived from custom or endowment. Bologna sprang from a guild of scholars, Paris from a guild of masters, and these two forms became the types upon which succeeding universities were modelled. They arose out of the educational movement that marked the twelfth century. Our own Oxford is mainly, though with certain important differences, of the magisterial type. The great medical *studium* of Salerno was anterior to and unlike them all; it failed to reproduce itself, and it may therefore be omitted from the present inquiry.

A sketch of the rise and development of Bologna, Paris, and Oxford, with a notice of Cambridge, to satisfy national interest, will supply us with an implicit explanation of the general constitutional framework of university institutions. As we proceed we shall see the part taken in their development by ecclesiastical traditions, persons, and authority. This will enable us to form some appreciative estimate of the all-pervading influence of the work of the Church in these great institutions which, greater and more imperishable than the old cathedrals, by their organisation and traditions, their studies and their exercises, "affected the progress and intellectual development of Europe more powerfully, or (perhaps it should be said) more exclusively than any schools in all likelihood will ever do again."*

II.

The aim of the Church was not to revolutionise society, but to make it Christian, and so she long did her best with the imperial and municipal schools of the empire. The barbarian invasions made havoc among these venerable institutions, and from the time of Charlemagne learning was only preserved with difficulty in the schools maintained in the monasteries and under the shadow of the cathedrals. The dark days of pillage and slaughter, during which Europe was the prey of the barbarian hosts, were regarded as the signs of the end of the world. Whatever culture was not immediately and absolutely

* Vol. i. p. 5.

necessary, or at least useful, was left aside, and so education became more and more ecclesiastical in its character, especially as Churchmen were the only persons who possessed or desired to possess it. Part of Charlemagne's reform had been an enactment that every monastery and cathedral should have a school, and of these schools the monastic were the more important. It was the monasteries which educated the great ecclesiastics of the time, and from which the episcopal schools derived their teachers. When the tide turned it was principally from the cathedral schools that the universities sprang; but there can be no question that, as Mr. Rashdall allows,

Benedictine monasticism created almost the only homes of learning and education, and constituted by far the most powerful civilising agency in Europe, until it was superseded as an educational instrument by the growth of the universities.*

Thus the period that intervenes between the time of Charlemagne to the opening of the eleventh century has been well styled the Benedictine age, and

the particular direction which was taken by the re-awakened intellectual energies of Europe was completely determined by the character of the traditional education which it had inherited from the past.†

But the days of terror passed away as order gradually evolved out of the chaos created by the stress of conquest. The barbarians became Christian. The Crusades saw rival nations fighting side by side and opened to Europe the learning of the East. With the establishment of social tranquillity there was once more room for hope and active religious enthusiasm. Though scarcely visible at first, by the opening of the eleventh century the tide had begun to flow. The revival that had commenced marks a turning-point in European history. Slowly but surely the improvement proceeded, manifesting itself in the increasing efficiency of the schools and the broadening of the stream of theological literature, until at the close of the century with a quickened growth it finally developed into that great scholastic movement out of which the university system took its rise.

* Vol. i. p. 27.

† *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 33.

South of the Alps the race of lay teachers who taught in the old imperial and municipal schools had never died out as it did in the north. Grammar and Rhetoric, which included Law, absorbed the energy that was expended in Paris over Theology and Logic. The old spirit of municipal freedom had never been quenched in Italy, and the wonderful outburst of new intellectual and spiritual life which made the twelfth century as truly an age of renaissance as the sixteenth, found the Italian cities again struggling for their independence. This fact placed a premium on legal knowledge, which caused education, though largely impregnated with ecclesiastical knowledge owing to the duel between the Papacy and the Empire, to assume a strongly civil character. The study of the law therefore occupied so important a place that it naturally attracted large bodies of scholars to the schools of Ravenna and Bologna. Ravenna, however, seems to have been handicapped in its progress by its attitude against the Papacy, and so left the course clear for Bologna, which quickly stepped into prominence in the beginning of the twelfth century by the labours of Irnerius, to whom and his successors is due the separation of Law from Rhetoric and the systematisation of legal study. Bologna won its early fame as a school of the liberal arts. John of Salisbury, who studied dialectic in Paris between the years 1136-8, tells us that one of his teachers went to Bologna and "unlearned what he had taught" and afterwards returned to Paris with new methods.* But Bologna's fame for *dictamen* made it the cradle of law; and the study of law as systematised and specialised by Irnerius, who probably taught from 1109 to 1130, and at the request of the Empress Matilda had set to work to edit the Roman law texts, attracted large numbers of students. The town was besides favourably situated at the intersection of four provinces—Lombardy, the March of Verona, the Romandiola, and Tuscany. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that Irnerius was the rediscoverer of the Roman law, or the first mediæval teacher of that subject in Bologna. His work was rather one of revival, and came at the culmination, not at the beginning, of that revival. He probably completed

* "Metalogicus," lib. ii. cap. 10.

the Digest which had been begun by his predecessor Pepo, and he was the first to lecture upon the complete *corpus juris*. Though by no means possessed of the personal greatness of Abelard, his position as the precursor of the university movement in Bologna may be compared with that of Abelard in Paris. The separation of Law from the ordinary educational course caused it to become a professional study for a certain class of students. These were often men of mature age, of good birth and position, beneficed ecclesiastics and the sons of nobles to whom a knowledge of law was necessary or helpful to a career. It is perhaps this difference in the class of students that thronged its lecture rooms that gave rise to the students' guild out of which rose the student University of Bologna.

But there was another movement besides the Irnerian revival of Civil Law which played an important part in the development of the Bolognese university system. That movement was connected with the name of Gratian and his work for Canon Law. As disputes within the Church had arisen settlements had been made in a long and ever-increasing series of *Conciliar* decrees, Papal rescripts, patristic *dicta*, and imperial enactments. Several attempts had been made to codify this mass of decisions, so that the law of the Church might be clearly stated for future guidance. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries these compilations had kept pace with secular jurisprudence, the most complete being the "Panormia" of Ivo, who had been a disciple of Lanfranc at Bec, and the "Decretum" of Gratian, a monk in the Camaldunensian Monastery of St. Felix in Bologna. The "Decretum" (1142) was the text-book, based on the collections of earlier Canonists, which by its superior method took the world by storm. The conflicting authorities on all disputed questions of Ecclesiastical Law were given, and from them was deduced the teaching which, by its greater authority, more recent date, and intrinsic reasonableness, seemed to approve itself as expressing the mind of the Church. It represented the cause of the Church against the encroachments of the civil power, and it came opportunely when the conflict between Church and State was being fiercely waged. So great, indeed, was its influence, even in a day when the authority of text-books was

something of which we can scarcely form any conception, that it may be taken as doing for Canon Law what Peter Lombard's "Book of the Sentences" did for Theology. Its triumphant success is a monument to the victory of the ideas for which our own St. Thomas struggled against Henry II. Its acceptance as a text-book by the schools of Bologna secured its ecumenical reception. It brought into being a class of teachers who were distinct alike from theologians and civilians, and though it remained a text-book, whilst the "Decretals" of Gregory IX., Boniface VIII., and the "Clementines" of Clement V. became a code, it was the basis of that vast superstructure of Canon Law which, as Mr. Rashdall significantly points out, by its pre-eminence and "its indirect influence upon the practice and procedure of the secular courts, and even upon the substance of the secular law in the less Romanised parts of Europe," became "one of the great civilising and humanising influences of the later Middle Ages." *

III.

With this knowledge before us the examination of the origin of the Jurist University of Bologna is considerably simplified. It enables us to reject as an audacious forgery the charter attributed to Theodosius II. in 443. Neither can we regard the charter granted by the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in 1158 at the Diet of Roncagliar, at which Bolognese doctors were present, as the actual foundation of the university, for it was merely a bestowal of certain privileges on the student class generally throughout Lombardy. Bologna is not even mentioned in it, though it cannot be doubted that it was primarily intended to benefit the law students of that town, which had long been the centre of a double movement in favour of the study of Civil and Canon Law. Under Irnerius and Gratian there was certainly no such thing as a university. A school had arisen, and a famous one, which attracted multitudes of students from all parts, from whose unions or guilds the university towards the end of the twelfth century gradually evolved. Thus it was a university of students, not of masters. Indeed, the professors, being Bolognese citizens, were excluded

* Vol. i. p. 142.

from the guild. This does not preclude the existence at an earlier date of a college of doctors. Frederick's charter points conclusively to such a body, and the first express reference to it in 1215, the year of our Magna Charta, tells of a book by Boncompagni being read before the University of Professors of Civil and Canon Law. But the colleges of doctors, whilst preserving the indefeasible right of admission into their ranks by examination, seem to have lost the real control of the *studium*, which was seized by the students.

This is a somewhat singular fact which was the outcome of many causes. As we have pointed out, among the students of Bologna was a larger number of men of mature age and of acknowledged social standing. They owed no ecclesiastical obedience to their instructors; they were, besides, aliens in the city, without any municipal rights. Combination was therefore necessary as a measure of self-protection; and this necessity, combined with the overwhelming influence of the guild idea then sweeping over Europe, caused the students to club together and form a sort of artificial citizenship, which, from the importance of the presence of its numbers to the commercial welfare of the city, and enforced by a long series of migrations and suspensions, by degrees achieved full recognition from the citizens. This erection of an *imperium in imperio* by the formation of a number of associations of students according to nationality was robbed of its apparent strangeness by the general respect then paid to "personal" and clerical law and by the prevalence of the great movement towards association.

How similar, both in their original purpose and organisation, to the non-scholastic guilds were these student associations may be seen from the statutes of the German nation. The object of the early guilds was mutual protection and assistance, spiritual and temporal, and the performance of those religious duties and functions which, as Mr. Rashdall says, "supplied the sanction for every social bond and the excuse for every convivial gathering." The statutes in question declare that the purpose of the guild is the cultivation of

fraternal charity, mutual association and amity, the consolation of the sick and support of the needy, the conduct of funerals and the extirpation of rancour and quarrels, the attendance and escort of the *Doctor-*

andi to and from the place of examination, and the spiritual advantage of members.*

With this end in view the proctors are bidden to visit the sick and dispense the charity that may be needed out of the funds accruing from entrance fees and fines. A large portion of this money seems to have been paid away for convivial and religious purposes. Wines signalled the great feast days; there were the clergy and singers to be remunerated, and gifts of candles and vestments, &c., were frequently made.† Father Denifle is of opinion that the last decade of the twelfth century saw the birth of the first university of students. He also inclines to the belief that the scholastic guilds originated with the Germans, which would certainly go a long way towards explaining the exceptional privileges afterwards enjoyed by the German "nation," but it involves the large and difficult question whether the guild was of Teutonic or Roman origin. What is certain, however, is that the growth of these societies, as well as the process of their amalgamation, must have been spread over a considerable period. Their early stages may be considered to have been completed by the election of their first permanent rectors. The later stages of development were taken up with struggles for the safeguarding of their own autonomy, the definition of their relations with the municipality, the control of the *studium* and the professoriate, and for the external recognition and approbation of the Papacy.

In the beginning, the law students' organisation included several distinct but loosely associated unions formed according to the various nationalities represented by the scholars. These unions, if we may judge from the colonies settled in Vicenza, Vercelli, and Padua, which may be supposed to have reproduced the parent type, seem to have been four in number—Lombard, Tuscan, Roman, and Ultramontane. By the middle of the thirteenth century, as the organisation developed, these four guilds of scholars were reduced to two by the combination of the Lombards, Tuscans, and Romans into one body—

* "Acta Nat. Germ." p. 4.

† These particulars are drawn from a statement of the accounts of the Guild from 1292. Mr. Rashdall points out the significance of the juxtaposition of the following:—"Item, pro malvasia (Malmsey) libras iii. Item, pro vitris fractis, &c." ("Acta Nat. Germ." p. 133).

the *Cismontane* university; whilst all the students from countries beyond the Alps were included in the *Ultramontane* university. Thus, what had been separate guilds now sank to mere divisions known as Nations. At first, each union had a head or rector of its own, but towards the close of the fifteenth century a common rector became the ruler. The Nations were subdivided into bodies which elected representatives known as counsellors (*consiliaria*), and these with the rectors formed the executive body of the society, whilst the supreme governing body consisted of the Congregation or parliament of all the students of both universities, which met in the cathedral or in some church or convent.

And here, before proceeding to sketch the history of the various stages of growth, it will be well to take a glance at the constitution of the university as it is pictured in the fragment of the Statute Book, which dates back to the year 1317, and in the first complete code which is no later than the year 1432. The students' guild or university was "a civic state" in miniature. At its head, and elected by the students, stood the rector, whose jurisdiction was derived from the statutes voluntarily enacted by the members and from the oath of obedience to them and to himself which all were compelled to take. Wherever a scholar was involved, there his jurisdiction reached. He was elected every two years by ballot of the ex-rectors, the newly chosen counsellors, who are first mentioned in 1224, and an equal number of special delegates. He was required to be a secular clerk, unmarried, wearing the clerical habit, of five years' standing in the study of law and at least twenty-five years of age. Usually he was a beneficed ecclesiastic. The greatness of his position may be gathered from the expenses it entailed and from the precedence which he was accorded over archbishops and even cardinals. He was assisted in the work of administration by six *Peciarii*, whose duty it was to supervise the booksellers; by the *Taxors*, who, in conjunction with arbitrators appointed by the city, fixed the rents of houses used by scholars; and by the *Bedels*, who probably date back as far as the rectors. The supreme power was vested in the united Congregation of the two universities, Ultramontane and Cismontane, into which the various guilds had by the fourteenth century amalgamated. Without votes,

with their lectures minutely regulated, and bound by oath to obey the rector, the professors were the mere servants of the students, in spite of the fact that the doctors' guild was older than those formed by the students.

Owing to the very nature of the university colleges played a less important part at Bologna than in universities north of the Alps. Smaller than those of Oxford or Paris, they never lost their original character of charitable establishments for poor students: they were boarding houses, and not places of education.

Of course, the organisation here briefly sketched was not reached without many a struggle. The city was driven to acknowledge the authority of the rectors by suspensions and emigrations to rival towns. A policy of boycotting and no fees brought the professors into a like state of submission, and step by step the autonomous university was accorded a definite status in the ecclesiastical system. The fight with the town began with the doctors, who, fired with hopes of higher profit, were lured to go elsewhere. They were therefore bound by oath to remain in Bologna. But at the beginning of the thirteenth century whole bodies of students, to mark their dissatisfaction with the treatment they had received from the townspeople, seceded to other towns. After a secession to Arezzo in 1215 the municipality decreed the penalty of banishment and confiscation against the rectors. An appeal was made to the Pope, with the result that in 1217 Honorius III., formerly Archdeacon of Bologna, in accordance with what Mr. Rashdall states, "became the universal policy of the Holy See,"* issued a Bull commanding the revocation of the decrees, and exhorting the scholars "to leave the city rather than violate their oaths." The citizens stood out, however, till 1220, when a partial reconciliation took place, only to be broken two years later by a migration to Padua. But Honorius finally procured peace by compelling the town and the Emperor Frederick III. to revoke their enactments against the students. By the middle of the century a *modus vivendi* seems to have been established between the belligerent bodies. The last great secession occurred in 1321, when a move was

* Vol. i. p. 172.

made to Siena, owing to the execution of a scholar for abduction.

It has already been pointed out that the guilds of doctors in Bologna were more ancient than those of the students. Before the formation of these guilds any one was free to lecture who could gather a class about him, but this unlicensed teaching was restricted by the formation of the guilds, and probably legally terminated by the Bull of Pope Honorius in 1219. This restriction was the foundation of academical degrees, which, so early as the twelfth century, were taken as a title of honour by men who had no thought of entering upon the work of teaching as a profession.

To understand the origin of these degrees it must be remembered that there were two classes of lectures, ordinary and extraordinary, which were founded on an arbitrary division of the books of Civil and Canon Law. The former were given in the morning by doctors, whilst the latter were delivered in the afternoon on limited portions of the law texts by scholars who had received permission from the rector. These scholars then became known as bachelors, a term which, whatever its origin, was used to signify a sort of apprenticeship or pupil-teachership. At first the degree of doctor merely signified a competency to teach, but by the introduction of salaried chairs and the restriction of the professoriate to Bolognese citizens and of the right of promotion to a committee or college of doctors it passed into a mere honorary distinction. For the *baccalaureate* a five years' study of Civil Law was a necessary condition. The doctorate was conferred after an examination by the Guild of Masters in their own names. This large freedom in a matter so important and far-reaching as education was naturally regarded with anxiety by the Church. It was contrary to the custom elsewhere and to Canon Law, which claimed for the Church the control of education. It was therefore restricted by the famous Bull of Pope Honorius III. in 1219, which enjoined that no promotion to the doctorate should take place without the consent of the Archdeacon of Bologna, who, as head of the Chapter school, and as next in rank to the bishop, probably exercised some sort of presidency over the *studium*. The change was not altogether welcome to the close oligarchy of doctors, but its first acceptance was rendered less difficult by the fact that

Gratia Aretinus, a famous Bolognese Canonist, at that time occupied the archdeacon's stall. In 1292, however, the advantage of being connected with the Church was made unmistakable by a Bull of Nicholas IV., which raised the doctorate to a permanent rank and conferred on all doctors licensed by the Archdeacon of Bologna the right to teach anywhere in the world. From being a mere external representative of the Church's authority the archdeacon thus became the official Chancellor and head of the university.*

The importance of these changes can scarcely be overestimated. They gradually brought the universities within the ecclesiastical system and raised them, as Mr. Rashdall points out, from merely local into ecumenical organisations. The doctorate became an order of intellectual nobility, with as distinct and definite a place in the hierarchical system of mediæval Christendom as the priesthood or the knighthood.†

IV.

The origin of the University of Paris can no longer be attributed to Charlemagne. Much as that monarch did for education he can in no sense be described as having done more than open the way for a university by the establishment of an educational tradition which was handed down by institutions other than those of his foundation. The school started under his direction by Alcuin did not belong to Paris at all, but moved with the Court. One feature in the university which afterwards arose may, however, be ascribed to the influence of Charlemagne, and that is its intensely ecclesiastical character. From the beginning it was under the supervision of the ecclesiastical authorities, and it was this that helped to the identification of the scholastic and clerical orders.

As a matter of fact, little is known of the schools of Paris till the middle of the eleventh century, when we find them attracting scholars like Stephen Harding, afterwards Abbot of Cîteaux. There was then besides the cathedral school of Notre Dame, the school attached to the collegiate church of

* This was effected in 1464, by which time the term *universitas* or *universitas studii* was becoming the usual synonym for *studium generale*.

† Vol. i. p. 225.

St. Geneviève on the left bank of the Seine, which afterwards, in 1147, passed into the hands of the Canons Regular of St. Victor, and, after having been for a period the most famous place of education in Europe, declined before the end of the century. Schools such as these, however, were quite insufficient to make a *studium generale*, though they might supply the framework. Cardinal Newman has pointed out how much more was necessary—"a popular interest and sympathy, a spontaneous co-operation of the many, the concurrence of a genius, and a spreading thirst for knowledge." Not until William of Champeaux taught at the cathedral school did Paris begin to rival the renown of such schools as had arisen at Bec and Tours. Half a century later, owing partly to William, and still more to his pupil and opponent Abelard, Paris had passed all others in the race and achieved the beginnings of her after-fame. There was at this time an intellectual movement of which Abelard, who taught both at St. Geneviève and Notre Dame, was the most conspicuous representative. His success attracted such hordes of students as to necessitate the multiplication of masters by whom the university was formed.

This multiplication was at the outset effected much more easily at Paris than at Bologna. Owing to the connection which had always existed between education and the Church in France, there was no need for express legislation to declare the necessity of the Church's sanction for teachers. From the eleventh century onwards a master was generally one of the cathedral body and often the Chancellor himself, who, by deputing his teaching duties to his colleagues, and afterwards by delegating others to teach, gradually established the right of masters to confer the *licentia docendi*. Pope Alexander III. and, in 1179, the Third Council of Lateran, put an end to the difficulties in the way of obtaining the licence by compelling masters to grant it gratis to every properly qualified applicant. There was thus nothing to prevent the multiplication of masters round a school, and this multiplication, carried along by the movement of the age towards association, resulted in certain professorial customs and laws out of which were gradually developed the statutes of an organised guild.

The qualification for mastership seems to have involved two things : a period of five or seven years' study under some duly

authorised teacher, and the approval and sanction of that teacher. This latter was usually given in a formal ceremony called the Inception, at which the candidate, after being invested with the cap and ring, delivered an inaugural lecture before the assembled masters, whom he afterwards entertained at a banquet. In this way he made a public entrance upon his duties and received the formal recognition of the masters into whose society he had been accepted. It is easy to see how naturally a guild of teachers would arise out of such a custom, and so render the ceremony of inception as necessary as the licence of the Chancellor.

The fame of her masters made Paris a city of teachers, but when these developed from a body bound together by mere professional etiquette into an organised society cannot be determined. The university was not made, but grew. The process was necessarily a slow one. The encroachments and attempts at coercion on the part of the Chancellor had to be resisted, the relations between Town and Gown to be fixed, and the internal organisation of the university to be settled. This involved cessations, boycotting and dispersions, and a long series of appeals and counter-appeals to the power of the Crown and the authority of the Holy See. Neither King nor Pope failed the nascent university, which, says the Abbé Feret in the Introduction to his "*Histoire de la Faculté de Théologie à l'Université de Paris*," could thus call itself "*la fille des rois, par la protection qu'elle en recevait, mais qui en réalité était la fille de l'Eglise*." The earlier development of the masters' union took the form of a struggle to shake off the control of the Chancellor, and we may here note a few facts which seem to mark its stages.

The decades between 1150 and 1170 probably saw the rise of the masters' union. A decree issued by the Bishop and Chapter as early as 1127, forbidding any but members of the cathedral body from lodging in the cloister, seems to mark the overflow of the cloister school into a *studium generale*. The baseless story of Peter Lombard's having introduced degrees into France for those who had no idea of following the teaching profession may be of value as pointing to the time when student enthusiasm manifested itself in an ambition for graduation. In the growing popularity of scholastic philosophy

and theology the study of Latin was reduced to a minimum, and thus the number of young masters increased rapidly. In the second half of the century we find scholars recognised as a distinct class, enjoying the immunities and privileges of the clerical state long before the birth of the university, the first trace of which before the end of the century appears in the life of Johannes de Cella, Abbot of St. Albans, who, as a young man, studied at Paris and was there admitted "*ad electorum consortium magistrorum*."* As he died at a ripe old age in 1214 he would not have become a master much later than 1170. Whilst, therefore, the society of masters must have existed in some rudimentary form about that time, the complete silence of John of Salisbury concerning it prevents us from placing its origin earlier than 1150. How amorphous was its earlier character may be guessed from the fact that it possessed no statutes till 1208, and no head or rector till a still later period. It was the struggle for autonomous authority with the Chancellor on the one hand and with the Town on the other that compelled closer organisation, and that brought about the division of the artists into Nations, the appointment of proctors to represent the Nations, and the fight for a common seal and for the recognition of the rector. Of these the most important problems to be solved are the origin of the Nations and the rise of the Rectorship.

The one grew out of the other. At the outset it is plain that for the conversion of an inchoate union of masters into a definite and legal corporation a code of written rules or statutes had to be drawn up and the right to sue and to be sued to be obtained. The charter granted by Philip Augustus in 1200 after a tavern riot which had been followed by a fight between students and citizens was no more than a protective recognition of the scholars in Paris by removing them from the civil power and placing them under the ecclesiastical law. It also protected their servants and property and compelled the citizens to respect their privileges. No text of the earliest regulations of the masters has come down to us, but a Bull of Innocent III. issued in the year 1210 and sanctioning the

* "*Gesta Abbatum Mon. S. Alb.*," i. p. 217.

restoration of a master who had been expelled from the union for a breach of them, makes it clear that they resembled those of any ordinary trade guild in their regulations as to dress, lectures, and attendance at the funerals of deceased members. In another Bull of about the same period His Holiness still more plainly recognised the right of the masters to be treated as a corporate body by empowering them to elect a proctor as their legal representative at the Papal Court in their litigations against the jealous demands of the Chancellor. Though not a member of the masters' association the Chancellor was the ordinary judge of scholars and was the person to whom application had to be made for the licence to teach, which he could grant or refuse at his discretion. The masters, on their side, exercised the right of granting or refusing admission into their number and of demanding an oath of obedience to their regulations. The Chancellor's permission to teach was thus of little use if the holder of it was prevented from exercising it. It was a case of coercion pitted against boycotting, and it was by this right of professional boycott that the masters fought out their freedom in a long contest which quickly caused their fluid association to knit together into a compact and organised body. The struggle would, however, scarcely have ended as it did, in the triumph of boycotting over coercion, had not the Holy See intervened to prevent the strangling of the nascent organisation or its depression into utter dependence on the Chancellor.

How directly the freedom of the university was aimed at may be gathered from the demands of John de Candel, who, as Chancellor of Notre Dame in 1210, exacted three conditions for the licence to teach: a fee, an oath of obedience to himself, and a promise not to lecture out of Paris. This would have shivered the policy of boycott, suspension, and migration which were the great weapons in the hands of the university. The masters therefore turned to the Holy See for protection. Nor were they disappointed. "The university," writes Mr. Rashdall, "gained in the end, though not without temporary rebuffs, by every appeal to the Roman Court. . . . The Papacy, with that unerring instinct which marks its earlier history, sided with the power of the future, the University of Masters, and against the efforts of a local hierarchy [the Chancellor and Chapter of

Paris] to keep education in leading strings."* Arbitrators were appointed to judge between the disputants, and their decisions for the redress of the masters' grievances were enforced by a Bull which Innocent III. addressed in 1212 to the Bishop, Dean, and Archdeacon of Troyes. The Chancellor was forbidden to demand any fee or the oaths of obedience to himself. The licence to teach was to be granted to all capable candidates legitimately presented, and other grievances, such as the imprisonment of scholars before trial and the infliction of fines, were removed. These and other regulations by which the university was allowed to make and enforce its own rules were in 1215 embodied by Cardinal Robert de Courçon in a permanent code of statutes. Of these statutes the university was not slow to take advantage. The result was that it again became embroiled with the Chapter, which did not care to part with its ancient authority over the scholars. A protracted struggle ensued which compelled the university to borrow money, and this, coupled with the need of official representatives, called for the appointment of permanent officers and the use of a common seal. On the strength of an old Act against conspiracies the Chapter excommunicated the university *en masse*. Honorius III., by a Bull of the year 1219, abolished the Chancellor's prison and forbade this wholesale system of excommunication. It is in this Bull, and in another published three years later, from which it appears that the university had elected four officers, "according to their Nations," for the conduct of suits at law, that we have the first traces of the existence of the Nations and their officers. Another Bull, issued in the year 1237, also recognises these officers by forbidding the unauthorised excommunication, not only of the masters and scholars, but also of their proctor or rector. Thus, at first, these titles seem to have been used interchangeably for the same official, but a statute of the Faculty of Arts in the year 1245 shows that a distinction had now been made, the term of proctor being appropriated to the heads of the Nations and that of rector being applied exclusively to the common head of all the Nations who was elected by the proctors. The Nations were named after the preponderating nationalities

* Vol. i. pp. 308-9.

among the artists in the university—French, Normans, Picards, and English. Their close relation with the association of masters is proved by the rector being commanded by a Bull in 1260 to pay a debt contracted by the four proctors in the name of the university. They were afterwards divided into Provinces or Tribes. On one point alone in the quarrel with the Chancellor does the Pope seem to have failed the university, but even then only for a time. Archbishop Langton was ordered in 1221 to break the seal. Four years later the Papal Legate, Cardinal Romano, again broke the university seal and forbade the making of another. The university retorted by mobbing His Eminence's house and smashing his doors. The right of a common seal was finally conceded in 1246.

It must be remembered that the Masters of Arts were by far the most numerous body in the university, and that at first the rector was the head of the artists only, the superior faculties being distinct organisations. But he was the executive officer of the whole university; he collected the money necessary for university purposes, he conducted its litigation, he executed its decrees. From being the mere agent of the university, he gradually, by his possession of the public purse, became its head. In 1255 his position was so far assured that he was styled "Rector of Our University," and four years later he was addressed as such by the Pope. During the last two decades of the century he had undoubtedly risen to the presidency of the whole society. This was converted into a veritable headship by the middle of the next century by the oath of obedience exacted towards him from all members of the Faculty of Arts to whatever state they might come.* The constitutional importance of such an oath cannot be escaped. Mr. Rashdall well describes it as "the key-stone of the academic constitution."†

Of course, the pre-eminence of the rector was not won without a prolonged contest, but as a matter of fact "the university lived upon its misfortunes." Its first charter from the Crown arose out of the Town and Gown riot of 1200; its first grant of Papal privileges were due to the Chancellor's

* "Ad quemcunque statum devereritis" (Statute of about 1280).

† Vol. i. p. 332.

oppression ; and a tavern brawl, which resulted in the Carnival riot of 1228, procured fresh intervention on the part of the Holy See. The military were called out and several scholars were slain. The masters suspended lectures, and, as this did not succeed in gaining redress, dissolved the university for six years. There was an exodus from Paris and masters and scholars retired to other towns, many finding their way to England. Cardinal Romano, remembering the mobbing he had received, sided with the Court and Canons of Paris, but Gregory IX. stood by the university. He begged the Bishops of Mans and Senlis to negotiate with the Court for the return of the university, and he wrote to the King and Queen. In 1230, things being still unsettled, His Holiness took the matter into his own hands, and in 1231 issued the Bull, *Parvum Scientiarum*, which, Mr. Rashdall tells us, "Father Denifle has justly called the *Magna Charta* of the university." The Chancellor was again put upon his oath to exercise his powers "in good faith according to his conscience," and enjoined to grant the licence without fee or oath. This prohibition of the oath set the masters free to teach *ultra pontes*, or on the left bank of the Seine, which was a victory for the university and for the Abbot and Canons of St. Geneviève, whom Pope Gregory had already allowed to license Masters of Theology, Canon Law and Arts, to teach within their jurisdiction. The regulations of Robert de Courçon, too, were upheld by the recognition of the university's right to make statutes and to employ "its great engine of warfare," the suspension of lectures. "Et si aliquem vestrum," runs the Bull, "indebite incarcerationi contigerit, fas sit vobis, nisi commonitione præhabita cesset injuria, statim a lectione cessare si tamen id videritis expedire."* In 1245 Pope Innocent IV. granted what became a characteristic university privilege, by which, for the prevention of an interruption of their studies, scholars were to be tried in the town in which they were following lectures. This right was afterwards extended by the King to civil cases. But this was not all. The Pope appointed the Archbishop of Rheims and the Bishop and Dean of Senlis the protectors of

* Chartul. L. part i. No. 79. Also quoted by the Abbé Feret, "Hist. Univ. Par." iii. p. 141.

the university, in which office they were succeeded by the Conservator Apostolic, who was chosen by the Faculty of Arts from the occupants of three Sees in the neighbourhood of Paris.

But the Town and the Chancellor were not the only persons against whom the university waged war. There were jealousies to be cut down within its own gates. The Mendicant Orders in their united effort to crush heresy and to win the people to religion saw the necessity of influencing education at its fountain-head. Both Dominicans and Franciscans were settled in Paris by the year 1230. At first they were well received by the university. But the Dominicans refused to join in the interruption of studies caused by the dispersion of 1229, and availed themselves of the opportunity to open to secular scholars a school of their own under Roland of Cremona. Another was opened under John of S. Giles; and Alexander of Hales, who had joined the Franciscans, continued his lectures in his convent. These irregularities were resented by the university, and in 1250 the resentment resulted in an open breach with the Mendicants. An order from Rome bade the Chancellor confer the licence on the Friar doctors, against which the theologians of the university declared by a statute of restrictions. Two or three years later the Friars, who wanted the membership of the masters' college without its obligations, again objected to take part in cessation of lectures. The university replied by a statute limiting the right of teaching to those who had been duly recognised and calling for an oath of obedience from all doctors. A vital point was here at stake. The Friars refused the oath and were therefore expelled and declared excommunicate. Rome withheld this sentence during the hearing of the suit, and in 1254 Innocent IV. revoked the privileges of the Mendicants. But the decision was reversed by his successor Alexander IV. in the following year by the famous Bull, *Quasi Lignum Vitæ*. This the university met by a move which showed that it was war to the death. Being a voluntary society and unencumbered with property, it dissolved itself and renounced all its corporate and Papal privileges. Excommunication and deprivation were Rome's reply to the recalcitrants. The streets of Paris became the scenes of frequent mobbings of the Friars. But gradually the opposition

died down and surrender as gradually took its place. But with the death in 1261 of Alexander IV., and the accession of a Parisian Canonist who took the name of Urban IV., better days dawned for the university. The Friars were restrained by being excluded from the Faculty of Arts and by being prohibited from incepting secular students. Practically the university had triumphed, and its victory was crowned in 1318 by the reimposition of the oath of obedience on the Mendicants.

These struggles with the Friars, disturbing and perhaps disedifying as they were at the time, were undoubtedly of advantage to the university from a constitutional point of view. Another benefit conferred by the presence and example of the Friars and later of the older monastic orders, was seen in the better order and discipline which grew up amongst the scholars. Already, in the course of this brief sketch of so vast a subject as the origin and development of university institutions, we have had to pass over with the baldest mention, if not in silence, many points of interest and importance. We have had to stand aside from the exciting contests between Town and Gown, and we have been unable to unfold the picturesque pageantry of later university procedure and functions. One point, however, must not be altogether omitted, and that is the influence of the Regulars in the encouragement of the collegiate system.

Colleges, as we have seen, in no way entered into the idea of the infant university, which was nothing more than a private society of masters enjoying an episcopal permission to teach, which had grown up in connection with schools developed out of episcopal institutions. As the misfortunes of this society were its life, so was poverty its strength. Possessing neither lands nor houses, there was nothing to prevent its moving from place to place, nothing on which its opponents could seize as a surety or by way of reprisal. Its students, therefore, lived how and where they pleased, either separately with private citizens, or in little free communities in rented hostels. Rooms were hired for schools, whilst churches and convents supplied places for the meetings of Congregation and for the national Mass of the Nations. It was not until the beginning of the fourteenth century that the Nations, in their corporate capacity, undertook even to rent

lecture rooms; it was still later that the different Nations and faculties acquired schools of their own. The only common property in the early days was a sort of playground outside the walls known as the *Pré-aux-clerics*, which had been wrested from the monks of St. Germain.

Yet Paris was the true home of the collegiate system, the origin of which, like the university itself, was of the humblest description. The college, to begin with, was nothing more than an endowed hostel or hall. The earliest foundation was a room for eighteen students in the Hôtel Dieu, close to Notre Dame, secured by Dominus Jocius, of London, in 1180, which afterwards became known as the Collège des Dix-Huit. Other generous benefactors followed this pious example of providing for the lodging of poor clerks. But it was the coming of the Friars that quickened the growth of colleges and improved their organisation and discipline. We have already mentioned the settlement of the Dominicans and the Franciscans in Paris in the early decades of the thirteenth century. Nor were the older orders slow to avail themselves of the advantages offered by the university. In 1246 Stephen of Lexington, Abbot of Clairvaux, founded a college for his Order; the Premonstratensians followed in 1253, and within the next four years came the Augustinians and the Carmelites. To this period too belongs the most famous of all the Parisian colleges, the Sorbonne, founded in 1257 by Robert de Sorbonne, Chaplain to St. Louis, for sixteen students in theology, four from each Nation, which, from being like Oriel College, Oxford, a mere college of theologians, gradually came to be regarded as embracing the whole theological faculty of Paris. As was only to be expected, in the houses belonging to the monks, the monastic rule was adapted to academical needs, but was still immeasurably stricter than anything which had obtained in the hostels. This stricter discipline, together with the introduction of the practice of collegiate teaching, exercised a beneficial effect, not only on the students of the colleges, but upon the general discipline of the university.

We have now traced the origin and early growth of that great institution which, by the political position of the city in which it was established, the fame of its masters, and the number and cosmopolitan character of its scholars came to be

regarded by the eyes of mediæval Christendom as "the Sinai of the Ages," "the first school of the Church," "the eldest daughter of the King." Though the one-man theory of its foundation is played out, there can be no gainsaying the work of a long line of Pontiffs, who helped to build up its freedom and its greatness by throwing over the nascent institution the protecting ægis of the Church. The university repaid the debt by its loyalty, and its influence was powerful in Church and State. Its support strengthened political causes; its word was weighty in theological controversies. Three centuries and a half before the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was defined an oath to defend it was required of all candidates for theological degrees at Paris.

The University of Paris [writes Mr. Rashdall], with its four Nations, the common mother of all northern universities, the recognised fountain-head of the "streams of knowledge" which watered the whole of Christendom, could claim something of that international character which mediæval theory accorded to the Papacy and the Empire.*

In spite of its many contests with both these, the university was ineradically Catholic, and its learned influence not only glorified the Church and secured France comparative immunity from the Inquisition, but also was "the decisive weight which turned the scale against the Reformation in France."†

* Vol. i. p. 546.

† Vol. i. p. 556.

J. B. MILBURN.

ART. IV.—THE NATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS OF ENGLAND IN MEDIÆVAL ROME.

THE English establishments of a national character existing in mediæval Rome have had a somewhat singular historical and literary fortune. Though invested with considerable interest, and with not less importance, in the history of the nation, they have at no time engaged the due attention of the writers of history. In the extant records of those mediæval centuries, when the materials for monographs on particular institutions would be sought for, at best, among the rare and meagre entries of the chronicles, one of these institutions is found to have received frequent and remarkable mentions by reason of its association with the Pontiffs of Rome on the one hand, and with certain Saxon monarchs and notabilities on the other. Thus, though its particular records have completely perished, the general outlines of its existence and history are preserved in the common records of Rome and of Saxon England. With regard to a subsequent period, when a higher culture, a more advanced civilisation, the acquisition of the unified Saxon kingdoms by the Norman, and a stable peace might have afforded to the institutions which had succeeded to it a place of some though not of equal importance, it is not easy to find so much as a single allusion to them. With the aid, however, of documents belonging to their particular administrations, coupled with the early notices of the older institution, we are enabled to form a more or less continuous history of all the institutions which England possessed in Rome from the beginning of the eighth to the close of the eighteenth century.

The first known institution of the kind was the *Schola Saxonum*, which existed for several centuries in the neighbourhood of the Vatican basilica, on the southern side of the Leonine City and the curving bank of the Tiber, and in the immediate vicinity of the *Pons Triumphalis*.*

* This bridge is probably the work of Nero. Its classic name is unknown, as it has been variously called *Neronianus*, *Vaticanus*, and *Triumphalis*. From the *Schola* and site it received the name of *Pons Ruptus ad S. Spiritum* in

I.—ANTIQUITY AND FOUNDATION OF THE *SCHOLA SAXONUM*.

The author of the Life of Pope Leo III. (795–816) in the *Liber Pontificalis* is the earliest writer who mentions the *Schola Saxonum*. In describing the reception accorded to that Pontiff and Charles the Great by the Romans in 800, he says:*

Who, the Romans, for their exceeding joy, receiving their pastor; all together on the vigil of Blessed Andrew the Apostle, both the princes of the clerical order with all their clerks, as also the princes and the Senate and all the soldiery, and the entire Roman people, with the nuns and the deaconesses, and the most noble matrons or all the women, not less than all the corporations of foreigners, those namely of the Franks, of the Frisians, of the Saxons, and of the Lombards.

The words of the Latin text are: *Cuncte scole peregrinorum, videlicet Francorum, Frisonorum, Saxonorum, atque Langobardorum*. From this description it is clear that "the Saxons" had a publicly recognised corporation, which was on a footing of equality with other corporations belonging to the Franks, Frisians, and Lombards.

This equality and the nature of the occasion described reveal a certain importance and dignity in the institution, which was accounted to be worthy of an explicit as well as separate mention in the narration of such a ceremonial transaction. The Saxon *Schola* was one of the few foreign corporations existing, and, as one of the bodies taking part in the demonstration, it called for an individual as well as a categorical mention.† Though the *Schola* is placed among the last bodies enumerated, owing to the slight esteem in which foreigners were held, it is much that it should be represented as the equal of the institutions of two such foremost nationalities of that age as were the *Scholæ* of the Franks and of the Lombards.

Until modern times there was among writers generally an

Saxia during the Middle Ages (Lanciani, "The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome," p. 24).

* In rendering the texts quoted from the *Liber Pontificalis*, I have endeavoured to translate in literal conformity with the "reconstructed" Latin version put together by M. Duchesne. The other editions of the *Liber Pontificalis* have been consulted in each case.

† The Abbé Duchesne remarks that the description affords a complete view of the classes of Roman society at that age (*loc. cit.* vol. ii. p. 36, n. 26).

almost unanimous ascription of the foundation of the *Schola* to Ine, King of the West Saxons.*

A difficulty of no mean sort attaches to any negation of this ascription: the rejection of one opinion concerning the *Schola* obliging to the responsibility of searching for some other opinion equal, or superior, in likelihood, if unequal in regard to the authority of writers. In the silence of contemporary historians, and with the rejection of the affirmations of later chroniclers, we have nothing but the probability of conjecture to direct us. But, even according to such probability, there is no concrete and positive reason for supposing that the foundation of the *Schola* may not have been the work of Ine. That it existed as early as the reign of Ine may be easily admitted.

In the first place, it should be observed that the designation of *Schola* in the text quoted is used of an institution, and not simply of a deputation, or of a chance aggregate of visitors or of pilgrims. This institution was presumably in existence for some time before the event in connection with which it is mentioned, the more so as it seems to receive priority of place in the enumeration over the *Schola* of the powerful Lombard nation. As this priority could scarcely have been a precedence according to dignity, it was most probably one of antiquity. The existence of the colony, which is presupposed by the existence of the institution, must have had a beginning earlier still.

The space of time implied by either of these admissions might reach as far back as the middle, or the first quarter, of the eighth century, though there is not wanting positive evidence that visits were frequently, if not constantly, paid to Rome by the Anglo-Saxons even before the beginning of the century. The visit of Ine was made in, or about, the first quarter of the century.

In the second place, there is some agreement in the statements as to its foundation by Ine among reputable

* See, for instance, Donovan, "Rome, Ancient and Modern," vol. ii. p. 81, and vol. iii. p. 839, and *ibid.* p. 962; de la Gournerie, "Rome Chrétienne," vol. i. p. 198; Lucius Faunus, "Delle Antichità della Città di Roma," p. 197; Lucius Maurus, "Le Antichità della Città di Roma," p. 113; Pancirolo, "Roma Sacra e Moderna," etc. On the other hand, such writers as Lingard ("History of England," edition of 1819, vol. i. p. 148), and Gregorovius (Italian edition of "Geschichte," etc., vol. iv. chap. vi.) reserve judgment.

historical writers, such as Matthew Paris and Matthew of Westminster, during the second half of the Middle Ages. There was so much of copying, partially or totally, in the custom of these historians, and there are so many intrinsic evidences to that effect, that the criterion has been formed of accounting for the positive statements of such later writers about earlier events by assuming in many cases the use of an early authority, lost to us but known to the historians. These writers who attribute the foundation to Ine were familiar with the personalities and circumstances of the Saxon monarchs. Were there any fact connected with the life of Ine to which we could trace, however distantly, the rise of a mistaken tradition; had he been exceptional, for instance, in the matter of going on pilgrimage to Rome; had he been the first of the Saxon princes either to go thither or to end his days there, some reason might be imagined for supposing that his special relations with Rome had caused later pilgrims to form a tradition which, in the course of time, would have found credit among historical writers. The foundation of the *Schola* must be placed somewhere between the coming of Charles the Great and the visit of Ine; or, in other words, between 727 and 799, to take the two latest dates. To what Saxon monarch, prelate, or thane coming in the interval might it be attributed?

There is a Bull of Pope John VII. (705-707) which affords a clear and satisfactory indication of what we might have suspected—namely, of the permanent existence in Rome of an English ecclesiastical colony. The Pontiff addressed the archbishops, bishops, and clergy of the English people. He stated that he had assembled all the prominent English ecclesiastics dwelling near the Vatican basilica, and that he had persuaded them to doff their former dress and to don tunics reaching to the heels, after the Roman use, *secundum morem Romanorum*.

This ecclesiastical colony must have been sufficiently considerable in its numbers, if not also very important in its composition, since it afforded a proportion of prominent members for a council convoked by the Pontiff. The express indication of the Bull, that the colony resided near St. Peter's, is of self-evident importance to the question under discussion. The Pontiff made the matter one not for congratulation only, but for persuasion also, since "with Apostolic authority" he

exhorted the clergy of the island to follow the example of their compatriots in Rome. He was furthermore enabled to add special weight to his recommendation by stating that this resolution of the chiefs of the English clergy resident in Rome had been given effect "on the Vigil of St. Gregory," his predecessor and the Apostle of the Saxon race. Now, John VII. could hardly have urged the Saxon clergy to such a change on example, unless the ecclesiastics living in Rome were both numerous and influential. The clergy of a nation could hardly have been solicited to make a change in conformity with the example of a body of clerics that was either small or unimportant. It is probable enough that those who made the change represented but one link in a long line of Saxon residents in Rome. If there were any intermission in the residence at Rome of natives of the island, it must only have been during the period elapsing between the rout of the British and the conversion of the invaders. St. Jerome and St. John Chrysostom testify to the presence of the British pilgrims in the Holy Land during the fourth century; Palladius and Theodoret speak of them as still to be seen there during the fifth century. If the Britons of the fourth and fifth centuries shared in the fervour of pilgrimage-making to Palestine, they may fairly be assumed to have partaken in the visits to Rome,* as an ecclesiastical centre and as a place of devotion and study, which were becoming more and more frequent and usual. There are evidences that the Saxons did not wait long to do the same. But, from our knowledge of the relations between the Churches of the Saxons and of the Britons, and of the complete effacement of the latter people by the former people, we are left without any reason to suppose that the practice of the one received the imitation of the other. Thus the author of "The Making of England," says:

Nothing brings home to us so vividly the change which had passed over the conquered country as the entire disappearance of its older religion. . . . In the conquered part of Britain Christianity wholly disappeared. The Church and the whole organisation of the Church vanished. . . . When Rome long afterwards sought to renew its contact with it, it was as with a heathen country; and it was in the same way

* Several British and Saxon visits to Rome are mentioned in "Continuity or Collapse?" pp. 46 *et seq.*, pp. 100 *et seq.*

as a heathen country that it was regarded by the Christians of Ireland and by the Christians of Wales. When missionaries at last made their way into its bounds, there is no record of their having found a single Christian in the whole country. What they found was a purely heathen land—a land where homestead and boundary and the very days of the week bore the names of new gods who had displaced Christ, and where the inhabitants were so strange to the faith they brought that they looked on its worship as magic.*

Later in the same work we read : †

It was thus that the spot which witnessed the landing of Hengest became yet better known as the landing-place of Augustine. But the second landing at Ebbs Fleet was in no small measure a reversal and undoing of the first. "Strangers from Rome" was the title with which the missionaries first fronted the English king. . . . It was to the tongue and thought, not of Gregory only, but of the men whom his own Jutish fathers had slaughtered and driven oversea, that Aethelbert listened in the preaching of Augustine. Canterbury, the earliest city centre of the new England, became the centre of Latin influence. The Roman tongue became again one of the tongues of Britain, the language of its worship, its correspondence, its literature. But more than the tongue of Rome returned with Augustine. Practically his landing renewed that union with the Western world which the landing of Hengest had all but destroyed. . . . Of yet greater import was the weight which the new faith was to exercise on the drift of the English towards national unity. It was impossible for England to become Christian without seeing itself organised and knit together into a single life by its Christian organisation, without seeing a great national fabric of religious order rise up in the face of its civil disorder.

These extracts represent negative and positive reasons which induce to the belief that the pilgrimages of the Saxons to Rome arose out of the Romanisation of their religion and nationality, as the natural effect of the precepts and practice of the missionaries who had brought them the faith from Rome. In this supposition the chronology of the beginning of Saxon pilgrimage-making would have to be regulated by the appearances of consolidation in the ecclesiastical organisation, and by the success of the earliest missionaries.

The presence in Rome of a permanent colony of ecclesiastics, and of frequently arriving pilgrims, when taken in connection with the customs of the time, would suffice to afford the

* Vol. i. pp. 163-8.

† Vol. i. pp. 249-280.

strongest indications of the existence of some Anglo-Saxon institution, even if we did not possess definite and certain knowledge to that effect. In the same way, all that we know of the devotion to and the familiarity of Saxons with Rome, goes to show that if the foundation of the *Schola* by Ine is to be excluded, this must be not by reason of his extreme antiquity, but of the absence of satisfactory indications. Foreigners were held in contempt by the Romans; their customs, language, and common feeling, while creating a severance between them and the other inhabitants of the city, would naturally have induced to the practice of living in one neighbourhood. The word *Schola* would apply to such a settlement, when recognition had been given to this as a Saxon colony.

The purpose of an ecclesiastical colony might have been different from that of a lay colony, since the former might be supposed to have study for its primary purpose. According to this supposition, its situation would have been in the vicinity of the Lateran *Patriarchium*, since this, as befitted the capital of the Papal Church, was furnished with renowned and ancient schools.

On the other hand, the principal points of attraction to the pilgrims and to lay residents were the Vatican and the Ostian basilicas, with their *trophies*, the bodies of the Apostles. Both basilicas stood without the walls of Rome.* That on the Vatican was at a distance of two miles from the inhabited part of the city, in the midst of an open country, surrounded for the most part by dependent buildings and, apparently, not provided with means for supplying the necessities of life to pilgrims. With the knowledge, therefore, that these Saxon ecclesiastics lived where only pilgrims lived, we possess the strongest evidence of an implicit kind that their concern was the care and service of the pilgrims, enjoined upon them by regal, pontifical, or episcopal authority. They were residents; they were numerous; they were of influential standing; they formed a corporation that had public recognition: all of which facts go to show that the *Schola* existed in some form or other at the time when John VII. despatched his Bull.

To obviate the difficulties of a residence in the Vatican

* Like that of the Vatican, the basilica on the Ostian Way eventually became the centre of a walled town.

quarter, Pope Zachary (741-782) commanded that food should be carried from "the venerable Patriarchium" for distribution "to the poor and to the pilgrims who lingered by the Blessed Peter's."* That was in the first half of the eighth century. The statement partly explains why the pilgrims found it so natural to satisfy the special prompting of their piety by remaining in the neighbourhood of the basilica. Long before that date, to the judges of Constantinople who expressed marvel that the Patriarch Pyrrhus had found a suitable residence in Rome, Pope St. Martin (649-653) had replied that the Patriarchium of the Lateran sufficed for all comers, and that no person, however wretched, left Rome without having had a part in the gifts of St. Peter. The duty of so general a hospitality, which the Pontiffs felt it to be incumbent upon them to exercise, must have come to be especially displayed in the environs of the Vatican basilica, which, with the advance of time, gained more and more upon the importance and dignity of the Lateran, the older moral centre of Rome. It is certain that the first systematic efforts for the housing of pilgrims there was made by the direct initiative of the Pontiffs. Thus the Saxon pilgrims may have been benefited by their munificence throughout, as well as before, the seventh century. Such, in the silence of history, is a not improbable hypothesis concerning the occasion and suggestion of the foundation of the *Schola*.

At the same time, the evidence that exists scarcely seems to be of such completeness as to warrant the assumption that the Pontiffs were its founders in a direct way. The record of pontifical charity in the city of Rome is preserved in the pages of *Liber Pontificalis*. Scanning these pages from the reign of Gregory I., the Apostle of the Saxons (590-604), to that of Leo III. (795-816), in connection with whom we possess the earliest mention of the *Schola*, we do not find that the Papal charity created a single establishment, however inchoate, having an exclusive and national, or local, character, such as had the *Schola Saxonum*. Sabinianus, the successor of Gregory, may be

* "Lib. Pont. in vit. Zach." One text quoted for comparison by the Abbé Duchesne has *diebus omnibus*, the others *crebris diebus*. The former reading does not remove the casual character from such Papal almsgiving, still less does it suffice to explain the maintenance of the *Schola*.

cleared at least from grave aspersions in the admission that he worthily confronted the distress and difficulties of the great famine.* Similar benefactions, regulated by needs and circumstances, are related of Severinus (May–August, 640), and of Eugenius II. (824–827). Of Sisinnius (707–708) it merely says that “he showed pity to pilgrims.”† It would, therefore, appear as though the housing of the numerous pilgrims in a systematic and specialised way did not enter among the countless calls satisfied by the Papal almsgiving. The foreign pilgrims certainly shared with the other poor in the ordinary succours.

Of Stephen III. (768–772) the *Liber Pontificalis* says :

Outside the walls of this city of Rome, beside the basilica of Blessed Peter the Apostle, he set up two hospices,‡ upon which he conferred many gifts, and affiliated them in a permanent connection to the venerable deaconries existing there without (the walls), namely, to the deaconry of the Holy Mother of God, and to the deaconry of the Blessed Sylvester.§

He also conferred perpetual privileges upon them. Moreover,

he restored four hospices, situated from of old in the city of Rome. These had remained without support for an extremely long period. In them he ordered every useful matter for each department, making arrangements within and without, and bestowing many gifts.

These hospices he also confirmed with menaces of anathema, besides founding and endowing another hospice, destined for the housing and maintenance of a hundred poor. ||

It is exceedingly likely that the Saxon *Schola* was an affiliation to, or at least an imitation of, these, and that its foundation was due to the suggestion, and largely also to the benefactions, of the Pontiffs. Such a supposition may be reconciled with the ascription of the foundation to Ine, but the connection is not a necessary one. The concrete data of contemporary authority may allow of, but they do not point to, the foundation

* This is not dealt with by M. Duchesne “In vit. Sab.,” p. 318, i. Cf. notes in Bianchini’s edition, “In vit. Sabin.”

† In vit. Sis. “Peregrinis compassionem exhibuit.”

‡ Xenodochia. Mamachi, speaking of early Christian charity towards pilgrims, says : “Aedes deducentes quas deinceps Xenodochia appellarunt” (“Orig. et Antiq. Christ.” tom. iii.)

§ “In vit. Steph.”

|| Xenodochium in Platana.

of Ine. They make a suggestion in the other direction. Without the slightest knowledge about the existence of the *Schola*, it would be impossible to imagine that the stream of Saxon pilgrimages should not have caused some similar provision to be made in conformity with the usages and necessities of the place and period. Most probably this provision was made by the joint action of the Roman Pontiffs and Saxon people. The suggestion came from Rome: the need was met from England. And this was as early as, if not earlier than, the visit of Ine.

II.—THE EXISTENCE OF THE *SCHOLA SAXONUM*.

From the account given by the author of the life of Leo III. in the *Liber Pontificalis*, we obtain an insight of the public life in which the *Schola* shared. It played a part in the pageantry of the Papal Church and Roman State, which had greatly developed;* and as a military body it must have had an active, and as an institution a painful, participation in the troubles of the sadly harassed city. In the record of two other pontificates besides that of Leo III., the *Liber Pontificalis* makes mention of the *Schola*.

The first of these mentions occurs in the life of Paschal I. (817–824):

Nor do we think that we should pass in silence over the fact that at the same time, owing to diabolic craft, through the slothfulness of certain people of the English race, their entire place of residence, which, in their language, is called *Burg*, was consumed by flames of fire bursting forth, so that not even the vestiges of their former habitation could be found. By the great burning of this, the fire devastated the entire portico which leads to the Basilica of the Prince of Apostles. And when, at about the second watch of the night, the thrice-blessed Pontiff became conscious of this, instantly by reason of his love for the Church of Blessed Peter the Apostle, and the so great ruin of those foreigners, he hurried thither barefoot and on horseback.† With whom was so great a mercy of Almighty God on his arrival that it in no way permitted the impetus of the fire to advance further towards the spot where the same angel-like Pontiff first set foot, but he, calling upon the clemency of God, and the crowd of the faithful that were present combating the

* See, for instance, the account of the funeral of Paul I. (757–768) in the *Liber Pontificalis*.

† This version, which is accepted by M. Duchesne, is the most probable of all, owing to the distance between the *Schola Saxonum* and the residence of the Pontiff at the Lateran.

attack of the fire, God having mercy, it was extinguished. And so it happened that he remained in the same place until the dawn. Afterwards, moreover, the thrice-blessed pastor, considering the neediness of those pilgrims that had come (upon them) through a device of diabolic fraud, as he was always accustomed to do, gave all things copiously for their necessities, both in gold or in silver or in clothing for their bodies, as also in other necessities. Furthermore, he also gave to them most usefully an abundance of trees for the preparing of wood, so that they might profitably restore as many places of habitation as were formerly on the spot.

The second event in connection with which the *Schola* is mentioned was very similar. It occurred during the reign of Pope Leo IV. (847-855):

For in the beginning of his pontificate, of which we have spoken above, a strong fire invaded the settlement of the Saxons, and began most powerfully to consume everything with its flames; where were gathered vast numbers of (those) peoples who were desirous of extinguishing the flames of the fire. But the fire was carried higher in the air by the currents of wind, burning and threatening everything, so that it came very near to the Basilica of the Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, consuming and destroying the dwelling-houses of the Saxons and Lombards and the Portico. Hearing this, he, the most blessed Pontiff, went thither most speedily, and stood ready before the advance of the fire (and) began to implore the Lord, that He would extinguish the flames of the fire; and making the sign of the cross with his own fingers, the fire was unable to extend its flames further, and, not being able to resist the power of the Pontiff, being extinguished, reduced its flames to ashes.

The curious scene which the biographer of Leo IV. puts before us received the highest artistic expression and immortalisation from Raphael in the *Stanza* of the Vatican.

Under the same pontificate, we find yet another mention of the *Schola*. Leo IV. had begun to enclose within walls the Vatican basilica and its environs—the district now known as the Leonine City. The foundations had been already made when the work was interrupted by his death. The stones were subsequently removed, probably for building purposes, by private individuals of that poor region. Leo IV. determined to recommence the work.* When he had brought it to completion, he solemnly blessed the wall which was to be the

* "Liber Pont. in vit. Leonis IV." Cf. the notes *variorum* in Bianchini's edition. There is an interesting account by Professor Lanciani in "The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome," pp. 80 *et seq.*

pomoerium of the Sacred City for its defence against the Saracens and other invaders. The biographer narrates the ceremony of the blessing. According to some manuscripts it would appear that Leo had simply written the prayers which were then placed over each of the gates, but this account is not entirely acceptable, because though he may have been, and probably was, their author, the mere setting in place of the prayers would be less suited to the dignity of such a ceremonial, while the manner in which the prayers are reproduced by the biographer indicates that they were an integral part of the function.*

Then he sang the third prayer over the other gate, which looks towards the *Schola Saxonum*, the which gate is called the *Posterula* from their language; and the same prayer is notable as containing the following Collect: "Grant, we pray, all-powerful and merciful God, that, calling upon Thee with all our heart, Thy Blessed Apostle Peter interceding for us, we may obtain the favour of Thy lovingness; and (as) for this city, which I Thy servant, Leo, its fourth Bishop, have under Thy aid newly dedicated to Thee, and called after my name, we constantly beseech the clemency of Thy majesty to command that it may ever remain unhurt and safe. Through." In the same city, therefore, according to the promise of his desire distributing a great largesse both to the Romans and to the various nationalities, then with the other priests as mentioned above, and with all the nobles of the Romans, setting out for the Church of Blessed Peter the Apostle with prayers and with divine praises, chanted mass solemnly for the safety of the people, the immunity of the city, and the stability of peace. These divine offices over, he enriched all the nobles of Rome with manifold gifts, not only in gold and silver but also in silken garments.† And on that day there was a great rejoicing for all, namely, the twenty-seventh day of the month of June, the day before the vigil of the most Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul; nay, throughout the entire city of Rome were celebrated infinite rejoicings and countless exultations.

The three events which afforded occasion for these mentions of the *Schola* by the Papal historians possessed only an accidental connection with its life. The slight esteem in which

* The Collect is as follows:—"Presta quaesumus, omnipotens et misericors Deus, ut ad te toto corde clamantes intercedente beato Petro apostolo tuo, tue pietatis indulgentiam consequamur; et pro civitate hac quam ego famulus tuus Leo quartus episcopus, te auxiliante, novo opere dedicavi, meoque ex nomine Leoniana vocatur, iubeam ut semper inlesa maneat et secunda, apud clementiam maiestatis tue iugiter exorare. Per."—Duchesne.

† *Palleis*.

foreigners were held by the Roman population would probably have prevented the institution from becoming an active or prominent sharer in events of a great or official kind,* except for the journeys made to Rome by the Saxon monarchs, archbishops, bishops, and nobles. We may justifiably suppose that as many of these as came to Rome after the foundation of the *Schola* lodged within its walls.

* A participation by the *Schola* in military affairs under Sergius II. (844-847) will be detailed later. It seems to have escaped the notice of all who have treated of the institution.

WILLIAM J. D. CROKE.

ART. V.—EDMUND OF ABINGDON AND THE UNIVERSITIES.

"THE strong years bend all things," says the chorus in the Ajax, "nor will I declare that aught is beyond belief."

πάνθ' ὁ μέγας χρόνος μαράϊνει
κούδ' ἐν ἀναύδατον φατίσσιμι' ἄν.

And now Time in its slow course is beginning to render justice to the great men of the Middle Age, and to understand what need there was for them amid the storm and the stress. Greatness is their common mark. Perhaps, indeed, the days are too distant for us to discern, through the mist, the figures of ordinary men common and weak. All those whom we are able to see, appear to us clothed upon with strength, diverse though the strength may be. Above all the Prophets of God were not wanting to that generation. There is a truly noble succession of those who serve as guides in the long troubled march of humanity, whom we recognise as the Saints. And as the time required, they were, nearly all of them, Saints whose lot was cast in public life, who had their work to do, not only in the sanctuary and the cloister, but also in the council of kings, the court of law, and the schools.

The opening years, moreover, of the thirteenth century were stirred by that great movement of life and thought that planted Christendom with universities. It was an intellectual age, and the Saints were commonly men of intellect, who had a large share in guiding and shaping the movement of the time. It need be no irreverence, therefore, to take one among them, St. Edmund of Canterbury, conspicuously a type of all that was best and noblest in those days, and to inquire what were the main formative influences that helped to mould him into what he was.

First, certainly, and before all else, he was a Saint; but he was also famous as a student, a scholar, a man of learning. He is the last of the canonised Primates of England; but he is also one of the first children of the universities. Memor-

able as was his episcopate, he filled the chair of St. Augustine only for six short years, and he died an exile from his See; but he was busy either at Oxford or Paris as scholar and as teacher from early boyhood till he was well past forty years of age. It cannot be otherwise than instructive to look at what employed fully two-thirds of his life.

With these earlier years alone it is proposed to deal now, and in them with no more than the circumstances of his mental training. The story of his life has been often told, and the outline, at least, is familiar to all that have had occasion to look ever so little below the surface of English history. By none have his character and career been more worthily set forth than by the learned Benedictine, the late Father Wilfrid Wallace. Here, then, is no need to speak of the particular quality of his saintliness, of the difficulties of his ministry, the trials of his primacy, his failure and disappointment as it seemed in the eyes of men, nor of the triumph that, ever since the moment of his death, has made his name splendid and his grave sacred. "Thy enemies shall kiss the dust," were the words of one who had most persistently thwarted him.

The present task is a modest one. It is an attempt to trace, if it be possible, the surroundings of a great character in early youth; to note the conditions of his first schooling; to remark how he was affected by university life begun at Oxford and continued at Paris, and then to look at his teaching as a Master in Arts; to consider him, it may be said, as schoolboy, undergraduate, and tutor; and then to discover what legacy has been left to the universities by this rare and beautiful spirit, and what reason there is why his name and memory should be held in honour in places of learning.

It has been justly observed that the foundations of a man's character are laid in youth far more surely than he knows. And though it is ever true that just as each one has to face his own destiny, so too he must himself be the chief agent in forming his own personality, nevertheless, the enduring influence of birthplace, parentage and early home cannot easily be over-estimated. In all this Edmund Rich was fortunate.

The quaint and pretty town of Abingdon which, entirely English as it is, wears, in bright weather, something almost of

a foreign aspect, has in the course of the centuries lost rather than gained in importance. Even in early times its trade passed to Wallingford and its learning to Oxford, and the great Abbey has long been a ruin. But in St. Edmund's day the town was a prosperous place, and the Abbey, in spite of relaxed discipline, a school of high repute. There our first Henry gained his surname of Beaclerc. It does not, indeed, appear that Edmund came at all under the immediate care of the monks; but the near neighbourhood of a home of high culture, a favourite resort of the noble and the great, would go far with a quick and thoughtful child to redeem him from the flat unprofitable deadness of so much provincial life, to offer him a truer standard of the world and to enlarge the boundaries of his mind.

Happy, then, in his birthplace—for here he was born some ten years after the great martyrdom at Canterbury—he was more favoured still in his parents. Reginald Rich, his father, was a very devout man of what we may call the burgess class, *fortune mediocris*, says the monk Eustace. Inasmuch as the Saint in later life could form no recollection of his father, he must have been still very young when Reginald quitted wife and children and, turning his back upon the world, took the religious habit at the Abbey of Eynsham. Edmund, with a younger brother, Robert, henceforth his constant companion, as well as two sisters, was thus left to the sole care of Mabel Rich his mother.

The glowing praise bestowed upon her by all the biographers can be no more than her due; for to her deep love, her watchful control and constant solicitude, Edmund owed everything. To her accordingly he was bound by the closest of ties, and from her he gained the steady persistency, the patient endurance and quiet strength that are among his marked qualities. *Flos viduarum*, "of wedewen floure," *speculum matronarum*, are the titles assigned to her, and it is clear that she must have been endowed with intellect as well as piety.

Nor is it too much to say that quite one half of Edmund's life was shaped by her. From the first she cherished the twin ideal *virtus et scientia*, deeming them, in truth, inseparable. Everywhere we can trace her care for the boy's growth in knowledge, her desire for his proficiency, her determination

that he shall share in the best learning, the fullest enlightenment of the age. Thus, it is she who places her little sons at the rising schools of Oxford, she who watches over them there and, when the time is ripe, sends them on to the famous University of Paris. Her letters encourage them there and, years later, her influence is still perceived; for it was the vision after her death that moved Edmund to the most eventful decision of his life, when, in spite of the effort it cost him, he put everything else aside for the study of theology. Of all the elements that helped to form and to fill his mind her influence was the strongest and most lasting.

The mother's first care was for her son's advance in godliness, her next was for his progress in knowledge. Thus, after a home training of severe and penitential austerity, the two brothers are found at Oxford repairing to the school of a certain holy priest, "*cujusdam sancti sacerdotis*." They were mere children; for Edmund had already been some time at Oxford and yet was but twelve years old when the incident occurred which is for ever associated with his name, when in the great church of St. Mary, before our Lady's image, he placed a ring upon her hand taking her for his lady and bride, and vowing himself to be her lifelong servant.

But near though Oxford was to his home, so near that he was still under his mother's eye, the sense of change must have been complete. Thrown amid scenes so novel and manners so strange, it was well that the boys had been, long before, inured to fasting, hardship and penance. The historian of the English people has given us a picture, which for graphic truth is never likely to be excelled, of the narrow, oftentimes filthy, lanes of the close and crowded mediæval town, where doctors and masters, clerks, scholars and retainers huddled together. A strong, rich, vivid and turbulent life it was that filled the place, manifesting at once the best and the worst elements of the time.

The whole subject of the origin of the universities is obscure and difficult. More attention has been devoted to it abroad than in England. Nevertheless, we have had valuable "*collectanea*," edited at Oxford; there are the pages of Father Wallace, and those of the author of "*Christian Schools and Scholars*;" and more complete still are the masterly chapters

in the "Life of S. Thomas of Aquin," by the late Archbishop Vaughan, O.S.B., which display a power equal to their wealth of research. Quite recently the Clarendon Press has issued what is, beyond doubt or cavil, a work of the very highest order: "The Universities of Europe during the Middle Ages," by Mr. Hastings Rashdall. Competent critics have asserted that for erudition it may bear comparison with Father Denifle's great book, which in clearness and narrative skill it may even excel. This last authority fully confirms Dr. Vaughan's statement that the universities were not organised in a day, but were developments out of chaos and confusion into order.

Feverish then were the activities into which the boy Edmund was thrown. The university was just awakening to the consciousness of itself and its function, and struggling towards the corporate form that it did not fully attain until after his day. For it must be remembered that Oxford can boast of being a university *ex consuetudine*, as it is said. It arose, it grew, it matured out of strong living forces, out of the instinctive movement of the age. No formal outward act was needed to call it into being or to foster its growth. Some few of the greatest universities—Paris is one—have a like origin. Others there are, such as Glasgow and St. Andrews, that owe their beginning to a Papal charter, others, like Prague, to an imperial edict.

Again, just as these great institutions, which became so numerous in the thirteenth century that no fewer than sixty-six could be counted, differed in the manner of their foundation, so did they also vary widely in character and government. Some, like Salerno, were pure democracies where the students governed themselves, electing and not infrequently deposing their rector and proctors and other officers. In other cases, as at Paris, the power passed before long from scholars and masters to what we may almost term an oligarchy of the higher officials. At Oxford the Chancellor was at first no more than the representative of the Bishop of Lincoln, in whose vast diocese the town was included. Later he was elected by the masters and scholars themselves, though it may be doubted whether Oxford was ever really a republic.

Further, though every university was a *studium generale*, though the set course of trivium and quadrivium is found

almost everywhere, yet the eminence of special places sometimes depended upon special studies. Thus Bologna, the most venerable university in all Europe, was chiefly famed for law, Padua for the liberal arts, Salerno and Montpellier for medicine, Paris and, later, Oxford for the schools of divinity and philosophy.

But differ though they might, in one respect at least they were alike. They seemed then, as they have never seemed since, able to transcend the limits of mere nationality, to be universities in reality as well as in name, open to all who chose to come and to every age. The youth of many of the scholars is surprising, especially when we remember that there were as yet no colleges. It was not for a generation or more after St. Edmund, that Walter de Merton, Chancellor to King Edward I., founded the college that bears his name. It was expressly for secular clerks; for so greatly did the founder dislike the Friars, that one statute is said to ordain that "*nemo religiosus*" is to have any place in his institution. For a long while men and boys, each had to shift for himself, lodging as best he might, and following whatsoever teacher he would.

Mr. Rashdall shows very clearly that the mediæval liking for good round numbers renders their figures quite untrustworthy. We read of fifteen thousand at Oxford, ten thousand at Padua, thirty thousand, even, at Paris. The very small extent of the ancient walled cities alone makes this reckoning impossible. The modern critic is disposed to divide these fair totals by at least five. This would give some three thousand for Oxford at its most crowded time; and doubtless the scornful verse was true then as now:

"*Oxoniam multi veniunt redeunt quoque stulti.*"

Some were idle, some dissolute, some violent, and some the prey of the Jewish usurers. These "*chattels of the crown*" thronged there in insolent immunity, allowed by law to charge interest up to the generous figure of forty-three per cent., until, in 1290, Edward I. banished them all from the realm.

It is worth remembering, too, that as the *studium generale* at Oxford was due, in all probability, to the great English migration from Paris in 1167, the university was at this time

less than fifty years old. That discipline should scarcely exist is not wonderful; yet we cannot quite repress astonishment at the extent of the turbulent violence with which the records are full. The truth is that, in several respects, the men of the Middle Ages were no more than children, unable to put restraint upon themselves. For instance, we read that in one place it was deliberately put to the vote "in quadam congregatione scolarium," that their strongest champions "*se armarent et invaderent alios de alia natione*," and at Cambridge on one occasion an ex-mayor of the town was anxious to fight the Chancellor. Yet this is, after all, only one phase of the life; side by side with it is found ardour and unresting industry in study, ascetic virtue and often saintliness. And Edmund Rich is a type, pre-eminently high and noble indeed, of a class not uncommon.

It cannot be quite determined whether he was at once inscribed upon the university roll, or was during this first residence only what the mediæval dialect of Cambridge would have called a *glomerellus* or grammar boy. The biography of Eustace, the monk, rather supports this latter view. There was, it seems, nothing like any entrance examination to undergo before being inscribed as a scholar; but to make lectures profitable it was necessary to know pretty thoroughly the *lingua-franca* kind of Latin current in the Middle Ages, and to have been drilled "*in arte grammatica*."

This was the work of the grammar schools. They taught a boy "*legere et cantare*;" and very strict, as we may learn from their traditions and sometimes even from their illuminated choir-books, the precentor usually was in this matter. Furthermore as, in the course of arts, literature as such found no place, the grammar school provided some acquaintance with the Latin classics. Ovid was the favourite author to construe both into French and English. There is no record of the actual studies in Edmund's school at Oxford, which, inasmuch as it was in the churchyard of St. Mary's and was approached through the western door of the church itself, stood probably in some relation to the university; but a contemporary account of similar schools in London shows that there was plenty of intellectual activity, and indeed some spirit of display. At their disputations some pupils "roll the enthymeme while others

employ the perfect syllogism." Not only so: "others exercise themselves in epigrams, rhythm and metre and with Socratic wit touch the vices of the companions, perhaps even of their elders":—"Salibus Socraticis sociorum vel forte majorum vitia tangunt." Curiously enough this very passage of Fitz-Stephen affords an interesting evidence of erudition unexpected in the twelfth century; for it cites a line from the difficult poet Persius, who was also a favourite with another writer of the time, John of Salisbury.

Such or something very like it—for the method described in the *Doctrinale puerorum* cited in Sighart's "Albert the Great," was fairly universal in this century—was the training that occupied Edmund's early years and to his manifest profit. The pages of the biographer show us a boy very quiet and engaging, thoughtful beyond his age, penetrated with the spirit of religion, and intent, as we have said, upon the twofold aim, "virtus et scientia." The writer emphasises again and again Edmund's zeal for study. "Liberalibus studiis artium addictus," he says for instance, or again, "eruditioni suae diligenter intendens," so that it is not surprising that before long both he and his brother "in grammatica arte jam suos magistros excellere videntur."

Now, therefore, at the age of fifteen he is ripe for severer learning. Mabel sent her two sons, still together, to the great and famous University of Paris, never to be named without honour by any who care for the progress of the human mind. There he went through the full course of six years prescribed for the student in Arts, and thence, about 1202, he came back to his own country regent-master in that faculty.

The most illustrious university of Europe found its first home upon the little island in the Seine, under the shadow of Notre Dame. Soon it spread to the south bank, where we still find the colleges, the libraries, and the Latin quarter. The genius of Victor Hugo has made the ancient Paris to live again before our eyes; but his brilliant description belongs to a later time. The dark account left to posterity by James of Vitry, himself a Paris student, afterwards Cardinal, painting, as it does, a picture of almost unrelieved gloom, need not, one would hope, be taken as quite literal truth. But our most recent authority, Mr. Rashdall, who quotes it with some reserve, does

not hesitate to say that in order to picture to ourselves the condition of a university city of those days, we may recall to fancy the slums of the Seven Dials or of Ratcliff Highway before the time of the police.

Yet here was gathered all that was most eager and gifted, all that was most subtle and masterful in European thought. Stately colleges arose afterwards; the scholars secured for their own the coveted *Pré aux Clercs*, where they had fought, sometimes to the death, with the monks of St. Germain's; the Sorbonne spread its renown afar; but never was the intellectual glory of Paris more splendid than in the early days of the schoolmen. Nowhere is there such a roll of honour—Beket, Langton, Grostête, Innocent III. among Popes, Thomas and Bonaventure among doctors; these are only some of the names that graced its schools. And Edmund came to it in the hour of its pride. He found, as at Oxford, discipline a name, residence a matter of choice, testing of a candidate's knowledge a thing unknown. Many of the masters deemed no artifice unworthy if only they could succeed in catching new pupils. There was irregularity, disorder, outrage in plenty, but Edmund found, too, a keenness of wit, an ardour, and a devotion that have never been surpassed.

He came into the very heart of that great scholastic movement, afterwards so gloriously developed and brought into system by the Friars; when men threw themselves with a kind of passion upon every hard and intricate problem of their spiritual nature. Succeeding ages have been tempted to laugh at the odd form of some of their questions, and Rabelais makes them his jest, failing to see that this is only the disguise of some of the most profound inquiries that can engage the mind of man. These abstruse dialectics formed the discipline that for six years occupied St. Edmund.

Of the manner of study among these rough surroundings it is not possible to speak very definitely. The books that were their "instruments of knowledge" have been well described for us by Archbishop Vaughan, who adds interesting details of part of the Notre Dame library a little later. We know also fairly well the subjects that engaged the minds of the "Artists," as they were called, of that day. There were the famous Seven Arts; the Trivium of Grammar, Logic, and Rhetoric; and the

Quadrivium of Music, Geometry, Arithmetic, and Astronomy; and besides these the Three Philosophies, natural, moral, and metaphysical. Old world writers, such as Priscian, Donatus, Porphyry and others were the authorities; but the power which now dominated everywhere was Aristotle—"Il maestro di loro chi sanno." Edmund, as we know, came strongly under the influence of that powerful and comprehensive mind. So complete, in fact, was the supremacy of the Stagirite in every lecture-hall, that those who shrunk from the new teaching and, with better reason, from the pantheistic comments of the Arabians, Avicenna and Averroes, could not rest until, some time before 1237, upon detecting some errors of translation, they were able to secure an excommunication of the philosopher's works. It could not have lasted long; for Paris remained above all things the seat of Aristotelian learning. Another favourite author was Boethius; and considerable attention was given also to that intricate, perplexing astrology of which we find so much in Chaucer.

Upon these and kindred studies were engaged some six thousand scholars at a period of strenuous mental energy. The Crusades had brought fresh knowledge and fresh interests, and, as it ever happens, in proportion as the physical boundaries of the world seem enlarged, so is the mental horizon widened. The world of life ever has its faithful reflection in the world of letters; and the passion for abstract science, overmastering as it was, could not absorb all things. Milton may be right in saying that only dull fools suppose divine philosophy to be harsh and crabbed; but most men certainly look elsewhere for the music of Apollo's lute, and the "perpetual feast of nectar'd sweets where no crude surfeit reigns." The vivid thought and emotion of the age craved a large utterance, and the thirteenth century is accordingly remarkable in French literature for fruitfulness, variety, and excellence. It is enough to point to three works: a tale, Aucassin and Nicolette; an allegory, Reynard the Fox; a poem, *le Roman de la Rose*. The French genius is already there, the demand for clear thought, sure expression, definite outline, the impatience with anything misty or vague, qualities so marked that the very aspect and air of Paris, their world-city, have been repeatedly taken as fitting types of the intellect of the people.

The interests of the place must have been wide and varied. Among the students there were, of course, very different grades of ability. The records show that the number of those who finally "incepted" in arts and received the licence to teach, or, as we should now say, took their degrees, was comparatively small. Yet talent abounded and emulation ran high. Then, as now, the career of clever and successful men was closely watched, and the rivalry was keen. The character of the final test is uncertain. Much depended upon the scholar's own oath—in the Middle Ages apparently nothing could ever be done without the taking of an oath—and the testimony of the nine masters whom he brought to declare his sufficiency. Whatever the test, it is quite evident that Edmund's reputation stood very high, and that his course had been one of singular distinction.

It is pleasing to read in the biography that, after some uncertain time spent in lecturing at Paris, the sweet love of country, "*dulcedo patriae*," drew him home again. There was one spot to which he would naturally go, and accordingly we find him setting up his school at Oxford. There for the space of six years he lectured with wonderful profit: "*quum legisset et mirabiliter profecisset*," says the chronicler. Nor is it surprising after the stories which tell of his absolute devotedness to the welfare of his pupils. Oxford has always set great store upon lectures. In that day, if a man wished to learn, there could be no alternative for them. The appliances were so few: no desks were provided, and the scholars followed the lecture with their shorthand script as best they could. Not only were there no fires—even as late as the last illness of Henry IV. the Jerusalem chamber was the only room in the great Abbey of Westminster that had a fireplace—no wooden floors, no windows of glass, but pens, ink and paper were costly, and the necessary books very scarce. Knowledge, therefore, was only to be gathered from the living voice of the master—from that, from keen and close dialectic, and from the ceaseless exercise of a man's own mind. There is the mark of the Middle Ages—the energising of pure intellect; and perhaps it may be lawful to question whether we have not since moved too far in the other direction, and laid too much stress upon the mere heaping-up of erudition.

The studies followed almost exactly the order of the Mother-

University of Paris, whose successive changes were usually soon adopted. Some moderns may be interested to know that there was a "nine hours' " day for lectures. Daylight was a thing to be used thriftily ; they therefore began early. The scholars gathered about their master at seven in the morning and remained till twelve. An hour was allowed for dinner, and then lessons continued from one to five. This was the ordinary routine of a *dies legibilis*, a lecture day, that is, not a festival. They had scarcely any amusements, and went to bed early. The recurring ceremonial of public "Acts" and graduation and the university sermons must have been welcomed as bringing some relaxation to the monotony of every day.

The course at the English university seems to have been rather more elastic than that of Paris, and less exclusively under the sway of Aristotle. At as early a date as the year 1267, one peculiarly dear to Oxford, may be noticed : there is a list of prescribed books. Not less remarkable has been the unchanging supremacy there of the Faculty of Arts. The faculties, in name superior, law, medicine and divinity, were practically controlled by it. This supremacy of the arts possibly tended to diminish the academic influence of the Friars ; it has beyond doubt done much to keep the current of English thought wider and stronger than any exclusively professional training could have done.

Edmund's work lay at first entirely in this faculty. The express testimony of the great Franciscan, Roger Bacon, assures us that he was the first that ever expounded the logic of Aristotle. His other favourite teaching was in the Quadri-vium, especially in arithmetic and geometry. It is interesting to read that, at that epoch, mathematical science held a highly important place in the Oxford course. The young Regent-master was, in the fullest sense of the word, a tutor. All the accounts bear witness to the energy of his teaching, the activity of his life, the force of his character, his watchful care of his scholars, and above all his zeal for their spiritual welfare.

Then, after six years, he determined to give himself wholly to theology. The vision which led to this decision is perhaps one of the best known incidents of his life. The change cost him a pang. He was devoted to the liberal arts ; but the call was not to be mistaken. All that need be said is that his

progress in divinity and his skill in imparting it equalled his earlier proficiency in secular learning. The details of his life just at this period, after 1208, are not easy to follow. He certainly stayed for some time at Merton, the famous abbey where St. Thomas had been at school; he may have paid a second visit to Paris; he is sometimes said to have been the very first that ever received the degree of Doctor in Divinity at Oxford. The one clear fact is that he began to teach theology there with eminent success in the year 1214.

The account of his library, which he sold at one time to help some poor scholars, shows the great scarcity of books during that age, and also what was most necessary for a theologian. It consisted of the Psalms, the Pentateuch, and the Twelve Prophets, all with glosses, the Epistles of St. Paul and the Decretals. His lectures probably continued for about eight years, until 1222. Thus he may just have seen the Dominicans in Oxford. Bishop Hedley thinks he may have been instrumental in bringing them there. Robert Bacon, uncle of the more illustrious Minorite, their first lector in theology, was Edmund's biographer and devoted friend. The famous school of the Franciscans—notable in after times for the imposing line of its doctors with their resounding titles: universal, irrefragable, invincible, and the like—was not opened until two years later, when Edmund had been already called away to more active labours.

And now we may inquire what mark, what impress, has been left by this great personality upon the university system so important in all European life. First we see without doubt an example of unselfish devotion to the high cause of intellect. Such an example is ever fruitful of encouragement to generations coming after. How much of the best work of scholarship has had to be done in poverty and loneliness and dejection! If walls could speak nearly every college in Christendom might tell of some tragedy of thought. The task has to be done in solitude, with little to cheer or encourage the weary toiler, upon whose path, oftentimes, the sole brightness is that shed by the radiant figures of those that have trodden the way before him.

Next, it is St. Edmund who has given to Oxford that which is its distinguishing characteristic. We have seen that he introduced there the study of Aristotle, which has ever since

been assiduously fostered. That was not a small thing then, nor is it a small thing now. To have some clear rational criterion of judgment, some unmistakable tests of what is good, beautiful and true in conduct, in art and in intellect, is to have a possession of no mean value in a world where falsehood, affectation and cant are but too apt to prevail.

Further, and it is a higher glory, he is the very type of the unworldly scholar. The histories of the time show plainly how greatly such a type was needed, and show, too, how much its power was felt. No one will doubt whence came the perfect disinterestedness that wears the aspect of such chivalrous grace, so simple and so natural it is. Neither Eustace nor Robert nor any of his biographers will suffer us for a moment to forget what was the real foundation of his life, the long vigils, the ceaseless prayer, the hard penance. But austerity and detachment only rendered the beautiful sympathy of his nature more complete. "Earth to earth," he would say, as he sprinkled ashes over the fees they brought him, leaving them where his poorer scholars might find and take them. And you have but to glance at his life for numberless instances of loving and generous kindness. The force of that example is by no means lost, as our homes of learning continue to show to this day.

And lastly, Edmund stands forth as one of the truly great men of his age, one who, as he stood with his feet firmly planted upon the Rock of the Everlasting, could gaze upon all the changeful elements that surged around him and be neither affrighted nor dismayed. He could detect life in the disorder: that life he would in his own way strive to guide and control. All that was good and all that was hopeful he would make his own; and what seemed to others unpromising or even dangerous—Aristotle is an instance—he could subdue to noble uses. Others might shrink from the roughness of the tumult, but he would not; others might dread speculation, but not he; to the last he refused to divorce intellect from goodness. His life shows him to be one of those who can understand the fearlessness of truth, who by their intellect as well as their moral elevation helped the universities in the past and may help them yet in the future to be "nurseries of fit men to serve God both in Church and State."

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ART. VI.—THE MODERN CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL SCHOOL, ITS METHODS AND TENDENCIES.*

THE subject to be dealt with—the Modern Critical and Historical School, its Methods and Tendencies—is perhaps not a very attractive one, and certainly it does not easily lend itself to picturesque treatment. Still, I venture to think that it has the interest that attaches to what is undeniably one of the questions of the day; and there can be no doubt that it is of importance for us to have clear ideas on the nature of the intellectual atmosphere in which we live.

It is stating the merest truism to say that what is called criticism is one of the chief intellectual developments of the day. On all hands, in the papers and periodicals, we hear of “higher criticism,” of “modern criticism,” of “advanced criticism,” of “conservative criticism,” of criticism of all kinds; the air is full of criticism. There is the critical sense and the critical faculty; it is the correct thing to be critical; and many pride themselves on receiving the results of modern criticism, who, perhaps, would find it difficult to give any account of what it all means. Indeed, the critics form a sort of secret tribunal in matters intellectual—few people know who or what they are; they are felt to be an unseen power whose pronouncements in certain spheres of thought have to be accepted without discussion at the risk of being behind the age. Or, on the other hand, many rebel against the sort of occult influence wielded by the critics, and view their dicta with distrust, and the men themselves as persons who take a perversely pleasure in upsetting old beliefs and weaving theories out of their own inner consciousness: and I do not question the fact that not a few of the critics have done much to justify such a view. Still I think that the wholesome, the reasonable frame of mind is neither awe nor distrust. And in order to put the matter in its true light, I propose to examine this tribunal that

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exercises so great a sway nowadays over the minds of men, and to ask, and answer, so far as I can, the questions: Who are the critics? What is modern criticism?

It is evident that the terms are used in a sense different from their old literary or journalistic meaning, according to which criticism implied the pointing out of the good or bad qualities of a book, as a help to the reader to form a judgment upon it. In this usage criticism is almost synonymous with reviewing. The new use of the word is quite different from this. Let any one take up a good modern edition of a classical writer and compare it with a standard edition of a past generation. It is likely enough that, except in the case of the very best modern products, he will find in the old edition a more elegant scholarship, a more cultivated literary sense, a greater wealth of illustration by parallel passages, perhaps a wider reading in subject-matters not directly bearing on that of the book edited. On the other hand, in the modern edition there is a greater elaboration in technical matters, in what may be called the scaffolding of the work; there are long prolegomena about MSS. and previous editions; at the foot of each page, or in notes, or at the end, there will be found a record of the readings of the chief MSS. and other authorities for the text; the editor is expected to give the reason for what he has done at every step; if he proposes an emendation, it is not enough, as formerly it was, to show that it fits into the metre, and gives a suitable meaning, and satisfies the literary sense: it is necessary to explain how the corruption may have arisen from the reading proposed—if this condition is not fulfilled the emendation is not considered to have justified its existence. I do not say that the result is always more satisfactory: scholarship, erudition, culture, may be, and often are, on the side of the older editor; but any one who compares a good representative modern edition of a classical author with even the best product of an earlier generation, will soon become aware of the fact that there is in the later work an element, an ingredient, a something, that is not found in the older. That element, that something, which differentiates modern from earlier work is what is called criticism.

Where, then, does this new element come from?

It is a commonplace that the great intellectual phenomenon

of our time is the extraordinary progress that has taken place in the physical sciences. Fresh discoveries are being made almost from day to day; new forces, new processes, are being revealed; new applications of all this fresh knowledge to manufactures, to warfare, to medicine, to locomotion, to all the circumstances of life, are constantly being devised. And this great development of physical science, which has within the limits of the present century changed the face of the earth and made our life so different from that of our grandfathers, has for the most part been worked out by solitary students, who, hidden away in their laboratories, have painfully applied to nature those methods of modern science which owe their origin mainly to the genius of Lord Bacon. There is no need to enter on any description of the methods and processes of modern science. It is well known that it is by a minute and accurate observation of the phenomena of nature with the aid of the microscope and other instruments; by comparison of one thing with another; by cataloguing every phenomenon that has been observed; by overlooking nothing, ever so small, as unimportant; by a steady contemplation of all the facts of the case all the way round; by framing hypotheses to account for them, and testing each hypothesis by experiment; by surrendering one hypothesis when found untenable and trying again with another; by applying all the resources of inductive logic until the true solution is hit upon; by the moral qualities that all this involves; by infinite patience, and perseverance, and a dogged determination to arrive at the truth of the matter: by such means as these is it that modern physical science in all its branches has been built up, and to such methods do we owe the discovery of so many of the truths and great secrets of nature.

Now modern criticism is the application to the phenomena of written documents of the methods and processes employed by modern science in the investigation of the phenomena of nature; hence the term scientific is rightly applied to criticism, and we hear of scientific history, scientific editions—such terms mean history written, texts edited, on the same principles as guide *mutatis mutandis* scientific men in their searching after the facts of nature.

That this scientific spirit, this proceeding along the lines of

inductive inquiry, is the distinguishing feature that marks off the scholarship of the present day from even the best scholarship of former times, will, I think, be evident when we consider a few examples.

No one can feel greater admiration than I do for the great French school of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: I shall have occasion to return to the subject later on. I suppose no greater work was produced by that school than the edition of St. Augustine's works by the Benedictines of St. Maur. I will take it as an illustration to bring out the difference between good editing as understood then and now. Of course the Maurists fully recognised—all did not, even in the eighteenth century—that the duty of an editor is to reproduce as faithfully as he can the very words of the author whom he is editing; that in the securing of the genuine text he has to rely mainly on the authority of the MSS.; and that, in general, the older a MS. is, the greater is its authority likely to be. But their methods of work may be seen from their edition of the Epistles of St. Augustine. At the end they give a list of MSS. used for the work, in which we find such entries as these: Belgian MSS.; MSS. of the Royal Library, Paris; Corbie MSS., "many of them written eight or nine hundred years ago"; Vatican MSS.; and many more descriptions of the same vague kind, without any means of identifying the individual MS., or of ascertaining its age. Then, concerning each "Epistola," a list is given of the MSS. and editions used for the formation of the text; thus, for "Epistola I." we have, among others, Belgian MSS., Corbie MSS., Royal Library MSS., MSS. of St. Germain des Prés, a Sorbonne MS., two Vatican MSS., and the Louvain edition. When we turn to the text of the Epistle we find such notes at this, that twelve MSS. have a reading different from that adopted in the text in one point; in another point only two support the reading adopted; no clue whatever is given as to what the MSS. are. There are seldom more than three or four such notes to a folio page, and often none at all. On such a method of editing we are wholly at the mercy of the editors—any criticism, any controlling, is impossible. Of course the usually sound judgment and delicate literary sense of the prominent Maurists, the result of long training and of vast experience in such matters, gives an autho-

rity to and begets a confidence in their mere judgment, which is all the more reasonable in that the greater part of their work in editing has not yet been superseded, but after two centuries still holds the field. But no modern editor who should pursue such a method would be tolerated. He would have in the first place to give a full list of the MSS. he proposed to use for his text, mentioning the place where each is to be found, its number, its age, its salient features. Then he would have to study these MSS., and draw up lists of readings wherein they agree or disagree. From among these readings he would have to select tests by means of which he may sort out the MSS. into groups and sub-groups. He must then endeavour to determine the relations between the MSS., and to trace their pedigree—the principle of heredity holds good in MSS. ; a variation from the primitive type, a corruption, is handed on from generation to generation, and so it is usually possible to trace back the descent of a number of MSS. to a few primitive archetypes, and to be able to declare with surety that such and such MSS. are all descended from a single copy. Simply to quote twenty MSS., as the Benedictine editors of St. Augustine do, in support of a reading, is manifestly misleading ; they may all be the progeny of a single MS., and therefore their united testimony can count for only one vote : in the domain of textual criticism less than anywhere else, can the principle of “One man one vote” be admitted. Lastly, when the editor has grouped his MSS., and formed his genealogical table, and discovered the two or three or more archetypes of the text revealed by this process, the still more difficult task lies before him of interpreting the results, of deciding on the principles he must adopt, the MSS. he must follow, in order to arrive as nearly as possible at the actual words as first written by the author. And even then, when he comes to print his text, he is expected to record the variant readings of at any rate the chief MSS., so that the reader who wishes to do so can discern for himself what each one says, and may be able to understand the whole elaborate process that has been gone through by the editor, and may be in a position to check him at every turn. In a modern edition this record of variant readings occupies, if the MSS. be numerous, from one-fourth to one-half of each page of the text.

It is evident that this process of modern editing affords scope for, and, indeed, imperatively demands, mental, I will add moral, qualifications of a very high order—accuracy in observation, patience in registering even the smallest facts observed, judgment in interpreting them, the play of all the manifold processes of inductive reasoning, including that acquired instinct which is called “the critical sense,” in using the materials for the formation of a text. It is delicate and taxing work, and it affords ample field for errors and blunders of all kinds in the hands of the unwary. But the result is that a good modern edition has in it, as I have said, an element, an ingredient, that was seldom found in even the best work of earlier times. And I think the description given of the way a modern editor has to set to work will fully justify the definition I have given of modern criticism, so far at any rate as editing is concerned—that it is the application to documents of the methods employed by scientific men in their investigation of nature. And therefore such an edition is called rightly *scientific* as well as *critical*.

The work of editing texts is only one department, though an important one, of critical science. It is only supplying the materials. When we have got our document, it is necessary to test it and form a judgment on its character, and to confront it with other documents. I might go through the various departments of historical and critical science and show that similar processes of minute analysis and induction are the instruments whereby results are arrived at. So many questions arise and have to be answered before we can use a document with safety, or form a sound opinion on its character. It very often happens that a document has been altered since it was first written; sometimes the author re-wrote it himself; but more often it is some unknown and irresponsible person who has added to it, or shortened it, or altered it, according to his likes or dislikes: in such cases it is necessary to discover the different forms of the work and compare them together minutely, piece by piece, and word by word, and try to discover what has been done, and to restore the work to its primitive state. Other times the statements made are based on statements of other people, and it is necessary to track each one to its source, to find what really was originally said, and by whom, and to form an estimate of the import and

value of the statement as first made. Other times a document is absolutely made up out of other documents, and it is necessary, in order to understand it, to resolve it into its primitive components, and to devise literary instruments which may act upon it as the spectroscope upon light. Then when a document has been got into its most elementary form, the question arises, is it really by the writer to whom it is attributed? Does it bear the impress of the age in which he lived? Are the ideas it contains, the knowledge it manifests, the language in which it is couched, the vocabulary it employs, conformable to or compatible with those of the same writer in other works, or those of other writers of the same age and country? Or, if the document be anonymous, it is necessary to endeavour by comparison with other works to form some idea of the date and place at which it may have been composed.

And in all such investigations conclusions can be reached only by processes of the same minute kind, by inferences from a number of small indications, by a nice balancing of probabilities where absolute proof is unattainable—all which have their counterpart in the pursuit of the physical sciences as carried out at the present day, and demand the same tone of mind and the same temper, though adapted to a different subject-matter.

When we turn from the criticism of documents to history properly so called, we find the same spirit but differently manifested. In the domain of modern history the new departure has mainly taken the form of the discovery and publication of fresh materials. Within the present century, indeed half-century, the State archives of most of the countries of Europe have been thrown open: no example is more conspicuous than the opening of the Vatican records by the present Pope. The result is that not only the courses of events may be discerned, but their secret history may be laid bare. The difference is the same as that between merely seeing a great machine in work, and inspecting its complicated and delicate mechanism, and understanding how part fits into part, and how the whole combines to bring about the result we see. So now the secret springs that moved the great machine of diplomacy, and politics, and legislation, and

that has worked out the history of European nations during the past five centuries, stand revealed in a way they never were before. The letters and despatches and most private memorandums of the actors are at our disposal, and give a new insight into the realities of things, the principles that were at work, the under-currents that shaped events, the causes that produced them, and also the actual things said and done. And, as a result of all this, a change has come over the manner in which history is written. Of course general histories and manuals will still be a need, and will be written; but men of the calibre of Lingard and Hallam will no longer write such histories. It has become physically impossible for any one to peruse and master the original documents now available for any general history; and consequently historical work of the highest order has to be the history of a reign, or of a movement, or of an institution, or of a period, or of a town—something which will reduce the necessary research within manageable limits. And we find the most eminent historians of the day thinking a great part of their lives well spent in going through this enormous mass of small and often trivial documents that has been thrown loose upon the world of history, analysing their contents, getting them into chronological order, confronting them one with another, and then elaborately printing the result of all this work in huge catalogues, like the series of State papers from our own Record Office, or the lists of MSS. in private collections issued by the Historical MSS. Commission. And surely this modern method of historical work, this narrow scrutiny of minutest details, this painful building up, stone by stone, of the great fabric of history, this whole spirit of modern historical criticism, will at once be recognised as entirely analogous to the methods pursued by men of science in the investigation of nature, and once again justifies my definition of modern criticism as the application to documents of the current methods of science.

When we pass from modern to mediæval history similar phenomena are met with. To take an English example: examine a few volumes of the great series of "*Chronicles and Memorials*": it will be found that historians of great name spare no pains in the editing of obscure chronicles written in the depth of the Dark Ages; lives of saints, charters, letters,

scraps of poetry, everything, no matter how insignificant, is thought worthy of all the trouble of careful editing. Then several bishops' registers (the official records of their acts in the government of their dioceses) have been printed—an eminent Catholic antiquary, Mr. Baigent, has just published the Winchester Episcopal Registers of eight years in a volume of 800 pages—lists of ordinations and of incumbents of churches, inventories of church and household stuffs, account-books, wills: there is a constant and ever-increasing output of records of this kind, and out of such materials it is that the history of the Middle Ages is being re-written and its social life reconstructed before our eyes.

And if we cast a glance at ancient history, we see workers in this field collecting fragmentary stone inscriptions in Italy, and Greece, and Asia Minor, digging out buried libraries of clay tablets in Babylonia, and even unwrapping the coverings of mummies in Egypt, and laboriously deciphering all that such methods of research bring to light.

It thus appears that, turn where we will, the same spirit animates the workers in all the departments of the vast empire of history. Everywhere is the scientific spirit energising, forcing the student to the most unremitting search for the records of the past, and to the most microscopic examination of all that is found.

It may be thought that not much good has come from all this minute attention to detail, and that the histories that are now produced have not, for all their scientific method, the sterling qualities of the older histories—they are less easy to read, they are so crowded with details that the impression they produce is less clear, they do not give the same broad and philosophical views of history as were given by the old school of historians. In all this there is an element of truth. But the present generation of historians realises that it is their duty to explore and sift out the new materials, to collect from them all the facts and sort them out—in short, to do pioneer work. For until this has been accomplished, it will be impossible to write true constructive history. Analysis must precede synthesis, and scientific history must precede philosophical. And so the historians of our day devote themselves to this lower sphere of work, in the belief that they are thus in the best way minister-

ing to the cause of historical truth, and making it possible for future historians to construct out of the materials now being laboriously prepared, history at once scientific, in that it will be based on the most scrupulous ascertainment of facts, and philosophical, in that it will interpret these facts and set forth the laws and principles that underlie them and the generalisations that may be deduced from them. Meanwhile what ennobles the minute and fragmentary work which is being done to-day is that it is the mere pursuit of truth for its own sake; what gives it dignity is the firm conviction that it is good and well worth while taking *all* pains to ascertain the very truth, the very things that were said or done. Infinite patience in the discovery by every means in his power of the least truth of fact, and complete devotion to this object, are the characteristics of the ideal man of science; and they are the characteristics, too, of the modern critical historian.

So far I have spoken of the methods of the modern critical and historical school. I have now to speak of its tendencies; and I shall confine my remarks to the tendencies that may be discerned in the sphere of the ecclesiastical sciences. It was natural, it was inevitable, nay, I will add, it was right that the methods applied to secular documents and history should be applied also to sacred. Thus we have:

(1) *Old Testament Criticism.*

On this subject I do not feel competent to speak. Without a good working knowledge of Hebrew one cannot be entitled to an opinion of one's own. But though I am not able to give a judgment on the results of what is called the higher criticism of the Old Testament, I may express the belief that the instruments employed by the critics seem to be good, and their methods, so far as I know them, appear to be sound.

(2) *New Testament Criticism.*

With New Testament criticism I am more at home: it is divided into two branches—(a) the question of text; and (b) the question of authenticity.

(a) The New Testament, like any other ancient book, has been handed down by MSS. copied the one from the other; from the nature of the case scribes would take greater care in copying a sacred book than an ordinary one; but beyond this there does not seem to be any reason for postulating any special

providence in the transmission of the text; and, as a matter of fact, differences of reading do occur in the MSS. of the New Testament. The number of Greek MSS. of the New Testament is very great; there are more than three thousand, and the difficulty of deciding upon points where they disagree is consequently considerable. It does not do to simply count MSS.; I have already pointed out the reason why such a method is fallacious—there can be no majority rule in textual criticism. Nor can we merely follow the most ancient MSS.; for there is no more than a presumption that an old MS. is better than a more recent one—often this is not the case. Additional complications arise from the fact that some of the versions—Latin, Syriac, and others—were made from Greek MSS. older than any now extant: these versions have themselves to be critically edited before we can know what their evidence is on points whereon the Greek MSS. disagree. The discovery of some laws that underlie this mass of minute and most complicated and conflicting evidence, and that will supply a key to its interpretation, and so enable us to group the MSS. under archetypes, in the manner indicated at the beginning of this paper, was a task no less necessary than it was difficult, and one demanding nothing short of genius for its accomplishment. Beginnings of scientific textual criticism were made in the case of the New Testament before any other book; but the task for a long time baffled the ingenuity of critics. For thirty years a great English scholar devoted himself to the herculean labour, and at length found a key which for the first time made it possible at any rate to begin the classification of the MSS. It is quite likely that Dr. Hort's theories will undergo modifications, and that many of his practical deductions for the actual formation of the Greek text will not be finally accepted; but I do not think it can be questioned that he has left a lasting mark on the textual criticism of the New Testament, and that future work will be built on the foundations that he has laid.

As to the general outcome of critical work on the text of the New Testament, Dr. Hort calculated that, taking the New Testament as a whole, seven-eighths of the text is absolutely certain—there is no practical divergence at all among the numerous MSS. and other authorities for the text. Of the

remaining one-eighth, about which some doubt exists, by far the greater part is made up of mere differences of order and other comparative trivialities. The substantial points about which any doubt exists do not in his opinion (*i e.*, if his general principles are accepted) make up more than a thousandth part of the whole text. Such a result is very remarkable. Usually such absence of variation in a text is the result of mere absence of MSS.—only two or three, sometimes only one, are in existence. This unanimity as regards the text of the New Testament, where MSS. are so numerous, means that in the case of no other ancient document can we be so sure as in the case of the New Testament that the text has come down to us practically as it left the hands of the authors. Thus the tendency of this branch of critical work has been to strengthen enormously the evidence for the textual purity of the New Testament (I speak of course of the merely human side), and to establish the sacred text on the most solid scientific basis.

(b) Then there are questions as to the origin, date, and authenticity of the various New Testament writings. It is not necessary to go into details about what is now an old story. In the early years of the century a school of writers arose who set themselves to study the earliest history of the Christian Church, its beginnings in the Apostolic Age, and its early developments during the second and third centuries. The instruments they used in this investigation were good, the processes they went through, and the manner in which they attempted to face and solve the problems one by one, were on the whole of a kind that might fairly claim the name of scientific: but their work was vitiated by one great flaw—they did not proceed in a scientific spirit; they set out with a theory to be proved, and they interpreted facts so as to fit them into their theory. This theory involved so late a date for most of the New Testament writings that hardly any of them could be authentic. It was said that the Gospels were composed in the latter part of the second century, if not the beginning of the third; nearly all the other books were dealt with in the same way: they were declared to be a mass of interpolation and forgery. Every chapter, every verse, almost every word was scrutinised and the whole New Testament practically dissolved by this school that held sway in Germany for more than half a century. In

England a few very prominent scholars kept their heads and did not allow themselves to be carried away by the current. While being fully in touch with all that was going on on the Continent, and recognising the validity and power of the methods that were being pursued, though protesting against the theory that was distorting so much painstaking work, at last by sheer force of scholarship, backed by English practical good sense, these English scholars, and, chief among them, Lightfoot and Hort, stemmed the wave of Continental criticism. Soon eminent scholars abroad, disciples of the dominant school, began to see that a mistake had been made, that much ground must be retraced, and for the past ten or fifteen years there has been a tendency to recede from the extreme positions that had been taken up, and to recognise an increasingly earlier and earlier date, and fuller and fuller authenticity for the documents of the New Testament—in all this I speak of course of the frankly rationalistic schools. This reaction has already gone a long way, and it probably is destined to go still further. Such is the opinion of Professor Harnack of Berlin, himself one of the leading critico-historical scholars of the day. A year ago he published a great volume, a model of the best class of modern work, in which he discussed the chronology of the earliest Christian history and dates of Christian literature down to the third quarter of the second century. He says in the preface that the general result of the searching scrutiny and analysis to which early Christian documents, both those of the New Testament and others, have been subjected, is that in nearly every case their genuineness has been recognised, and they are being placed at earlier and earlier dates; he expresses his belief that this reaction towards tradition is destined to go still further than it has; and he prophesies that the time is at hand when it will be commonly recognised that on the whole tradition on these matters has been right.

Of course to us the New Testament is the Word of God, and we receive it as such from the Church; but from the standpoint of reason, of Apologetics and Christian Evidences, we cannot but be glad that it has thus been put into the crucible of criticism the most searching and destructive, in order thus to emerge triumphant from the ordeal.

In regard, therefore, to the historical criticism of the New

Testament, no less than to the textual, we may welcome with satisfaction and with a God-speed the tendencies of the modern critical school in its most modern phase.

(3) *Christian Origins.*

In regard to early Christian history we owe a great deal to the results of modern criticism. That search for documents which has prevailed in every department of history, has here resulted in the recovery of a number of new and important Christian documents of the early centuries ; those of the second century have been nearly doubled in number within the last twenty years. This mass of new matter, which we owe to the impetus given to these studies by the modern spirit of scientific research, has shed streams of light on many of the problems of early Christian history, and has helped to make the first centuries of our religion live again with an actuality that is quite new. The historical side of early Christianity—the nature of the Judaism out of which it grew, the facts with regard to its propagation, the ideas which were current, the popular beliefs and practices of the early Christians, the growth of institutions and of Church order, the formation of Christian theology, these and a whole range of kindred subjects are now coming to be understood in a way that was not possible before. In all such investigations the method is the same : to collect all the available evidence ; to ascertain whether each piece is in its original and pure form ; to determine its date ; to confront it with the other items of information, and to deduce from the whole mass of evidence, in their varying grades of likelihood, that which is certain, that which is probable, that which is mere surmise, that which must be rejected as untrue.

(4) *Ecclesiastical History.*

One of the necessary processes in the search for the truth is the discovery and rejection of the false, and this is an important function of modern criticism. This work of judging between true and false is one that calls into play the highest qualities of the critic, both intellectual and moral. It is his duty to carefully and impartially weigh all the evidence for and against any document or statement, and to preserve the mean between too great scepticism and too easy belief. He must marshal all the evidence on either side,

test it, compare it, weigh it carefully, and then give his verdict without favour and without fear, even though it involve the abandonment of some pretty story, or some cherished tradition; and this is the same in the domain of ecclesiastical history as in profane, in the Lives of the Saints as in any other biographies. The Bollandists nearly always, and certainly at the present day, have set a fine example of criticism, at once reverent, searching, judicious, and honest. If it appears that the current Acts of a Martyr or Saint have been tampered with, or, as is often the case, have been rewritten and interpolated at a later date, they boldly expose such later accretions, and say: so much is the original document, the remainder must be rejected as apocryphal; or, if need be, they say that the life was composed at so late a date that it has little or no historical value; or again, they investigate whether what passes current as tradition really is such—for a story is not a tradition because it has been told for a long time. Such severe processes often result in the shattering of time-honoured legends, and he who has the courage to pursue them must be animated by the belief that truth is a greater good than the most picturesque story, that truth is more important than edification, nay, that in reality truth is the highest edification. This is the spirit of the Bollandists. Some little time ago I had the pleasure of meeting one of them, and he said that their one object in all their work is to discover by every means in their power the absolute truth of fact, and then to state it with the utmost frankness—words that might serve as the motto for all engaged in critical and historical work.

From what has been said it is evident that we owe much to modern criticism, and it is likely that as time goes on we shall owe still more. Of course many and great mistakes have been made. This is only what is to be expected in the early days of a new discipline. It has been so at the beginning of most of the sciences—mistakes were made and many extravagances perpetrated which had afterwards to be repudiated. But the science thus purified has pursued its course of usefulness and ministration to the wants or the knowledge of mankind. And so, in spite of incidental errors, we accept the work of the different sciences, each in its own sphere. Such I conceive should be our attitude towards critical science in its various departments. In some

it is only emerging from the initial stage of confusion and error, and we may well assume an attitude of wise reserve in regard to its various pronouncements. The general purpose is beyond all praise—the discovery of the Truth; the methods are at any rate in general sound and logical; the instruments are delicate and powerful. That they are not always wisely or well used is no reason for discrediting historical criticism as a whole, any more than we discredit science or philosophy because of the aberrations of which scientists and philosophers have been guilty.

The work of the critical school forty years ago tended to undermine belief in the New Testament and in Christianity; but a change has set in, and if we are to judge the future by present tendencies, our position as Catholic Christians has nothing to fear from the advance of criticism—indeed, it would be easy to show that some of our fundamental positions are being strengthened. And may it not be hoped that, in the long run, conscientious endeavours to find the truth will on the whole lead up to the truth? I think, therefore, that we should look on the work of the critical school not with distrust but with hope; and certainly not with contempt and ridicule, even when it has gone astray, but with the respect due to honest hard work.

It is important to recollect that though in the present day critical work is mainly associated with Germany, and is almost wholly carried on outside the Church, still it was not always so. The foundations of the work that is now being done were laid by the great Catholic scholars of France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They searched out and printed a vast quantity of documents; they edited the chief Fathers and ecclesiastical writers; they brought together and co-ordinated the information then available on all questions of ecclesiastical antiquity and mediæval history; they perceived the lie of the land that is now being so minutely surveyed; they envisaged most of the great problems that are now occupying the attention of the critics. The great French Jesuit Petavius, the father of historical theology, was the first to deal with the history of dogma, and that with a fulness and thoroughness that have not yet been surpassed. Students of the present day still turn to Tillemont's "*Mémoires*" as the best and most

accurate source of information on the history of the first six centuries. Indeed, the great characteristic of the work achieved by that school is its permanent, its monumental character. The work of the early Bollandists has not as a whole been superseded. Many of the Benedictine editions are still the best. I have described the difference between one of theirs and a modern edition. But not always is the modern, for all its scientific method, better than the Maurist. The Vienna Academy is editing the Latin Fathers, and some of their editions are beyond all praise; but two of the most recent volumes have been works of St. Augustine, and it is the verdict of the leading theological Review of Germany that the Benedictine edition of these works is still beyond compare the best. And the same Review declared that in spite of an elaborate work recently produced in English on the History of the Sacrament of Penance, the great work of Morinus is still the classical source, the standard authority on the subject.

Without any doubt the modern methods are in themselves superior to those in use in the seventeenth century, and the modern instruments are more powerful than any that were then known. But it is not always the best tools that turn out the best work. Much depends on the man that uses them. As a matter of fact, it is only the best work of the present day that surpasses the best work of the French school. The scholars of that day brought to their work a ripeness and a judgment and a tact that were the outcome of a long training, and that really depended on moral qualities as much as on intellect. There seems to be nowadays a great deal of immaturity, of youthful, of giddy work; and this is encouraged by the enormous development of ephemeral literature. A man will readily throw off in a magazine article or a pamphlet crude ideas to take their chance, to sink or swim—if wrong, they will soon be forgotten; there is not the same sense of responsibility as when it was a question of great folios that seemed destined to live for ever. But the fact that good tools are sometimes unskilfully used is no reason to find fault with the tools. And we may expect with confidence that in time the superiority of the instruments employed will tell, and that the work of the older school will be gradually surpassed, even though it be not wholly superseded by the new. There can be no question that

Lightfoot's Apostolic Fathers, or Hartel's Cyprian, to name only two conspicuous examples, surpass anything that has ever been done in the way of editing in former days.

If this estimate of the nature and the prospects of the critical school of the present day be correct, it is evidently of great importance that Catholics should throw themselves into the current, and take part in what is going forward. Catholic scholars in Germany and France and Italy are alive to the gravity of the situation, and in all these countries there are Catholics, both priests and laymen, who, though few in number, are recognised as being in the first rank of scientific critics. In England we have lagged behind. Our smallness of numbers, especially among the clergy, has made it difficult for any to devote themselves to purely scientific erudition. It has to be the work of a life—it requires a long and laborious training—it demands leisure and books and enthusiasm, for the work itself is painful and tedious and unexciting and unremunerative. The conditions of the life of the priest on the mission are in most cases such as to render the sustained application involved in these studies impossible; then, again, they cannot be pursued out of reach of books, and barely out of touch with others engaged on kindred work. Another cause militates against this work in England, and that is the condition of current controversy imposed by our situation. Controversy may be a necessity; but assuredly a controversial atmosphere does not foster critical work. The necessity of ministering to the passing needs of the hour, of providing pamphlets and articles and lectures, though necessary for our Church life in England, is a positive hindrance to the pursuit of critical studies, which usually demand years of labour before any results can be published. I am only pointing out circumstances which, as a matter of fact, tell against these studies among us in England.

On the other hand, it is obvious that it would be a mistake and a danger to allow present interests to make us stand aloof, and let all this field of labour pass into the hands of others. It is a duty incumbent on us to provide for the future. It is much to be desired and hoped that members of the secular clergy, as in Continental countries, may be able to devote themselves to the work. But there is need of training, and a training different from, or, rather, in addition to, the ordinary

professional training for the priesthood, the ordinary course of theological studies. In any case it may be hoped that the religious orders will be able to set aside some of their members for this work. No more favourable atmosphere for the pursuit of these higher ecclesiastical studies could be found than in our old university towns, where so many of the leading scholars of the country are devoting themselves to higher critical work in all its branches. And now that the secular clergy and some of the religious orders are making settlements at Oxford and Cambridge, it may be hoped that a certain number of Catholic priests in England, like their fellows on the Continent, will get into touch with what is rapidly becoming, if it be not already, the great intellectual movement of the day. I confess I look on this as perhaps the most important aspect of the new departure in regard to the universities, that it may avert what was threatening to become a grave intellectual danger to us in England. For myself, I do not hesitate to say that, with Catholic Faith on the right hand, and English common sense on the left, I am willing to throw myself frankly and fearlessly into the full current of modern criticism, in the conviction that truth has nothing to fear from the most searching scrutiny, and that the more diligently it is sought after the more surely will it be reached.

E. CUTHBERT BUTLER.

ART. VII.—SOME BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS RELATING TO HOLY WEEK.

IT must, of course, be understood that I do not profess this to be in any sense an exhaustive paper upon the various customs and traditions which have grown up around the great Festival of Easter. I have been for some time collecting everything of this nature that I have been able to find relating not only to Easter Day itself, but to Palm Sunday and Good Friday also.

No one, however, knows better than I do how much there must be that has escaped me; traditionary beliefs are growing rarer each year; the old customs are less and less frequently observed, and it is much to be desired that before they have passed into oblivion they should be collected, and thus preserved. I have confined myself, as a rule, to native customs only, but have occasionally given instances of foreign ones when they are identical with what is, or was, the practice amongst us; or when they afford an illustration which seems to bear upon an English belief.

A knowledge of what was done at certain seasons of the year; the food considered appropriate for various occasions; the sports indulged in, and the religious symbolism practised by the people, all help to shadow forth to us a side of the life that was lived by our forefathers, that we have no other means of gaining knowledge about.

Though upon some points we seem to be able to reconstruct the social life of our ancestors, yet there are sides of it which are wrapped in cloudy darkness; we know very little of what were the feelings, hopes, fears, and joys of those who lived in our land, spoke with our speech, saw the natural objects which we see, and yet are as far removed from us on some points as though they were dwellers upon another planet.

There are no doubt several factors which have largely helped to bring this state about. The introduction of printing; the suppression of the religious houses at the Reformation; that great upheaval itself; and in later days the multiplication of

newspapers and the development of the railway system. These have all helped, and in a sense are still helping, to differentiate the life of the England of to-day from that of the life of the England of our ancestors. It is not mere natural development, it is absolute change in many ways.

When almost every labouring man takes his weekly newspaper, he naturally discusses its contents at the village ale house with those whom he meets there, or, should he not be a frequenter of it, with his family and any persons he may chance to meet. In the England, say, of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, this could not be; news travelled but slowly then, and it was weeks, and sometimes even months old, when it reached the more remote parts of the country. It is but reasonable to suppose that, when people had discussed the local events of the day, the doings of their neighbours, the markets or fairs lately held, the gossip which filtered through the domestics at the larger houses, religious and secular, and which may perhaps not unfittingly be called the domestic side of their lives, they should fall back for conversation and reflection upon that curious mixture of fact and fiction, Paganism and Christianity, which we now only know the outer edge of. Legends of the saints, mingled with tales of those mythical beings who were believed in long ere the name of Christ was heard in Britain; stories were told that had their counterparts in India and distant China. We know this now, but those who told them merely handed down what their ancestors had taught, not seeing any hidden meaning in it.

To-day we mass all this, and much else besides, under the all-absorbing, all-embracing term of folk lore.

We do our best to disentangle the threads of tradition; and led backwards by them, we try to tread once again the pathways that were worn by the feet which went before us, the feet of those who lived all unconsciously the life which we are consciously trying to revive.

But the way is barred—strive we never so earnestly we may not retrace that pathway; life once led can never be revived or re-lived. We have eaten of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, and we have always abiding with us the wisdom we have gained, we may not, even for a little space, forget. For us there is no Lethe: no waters of oblivion, drink we how so

ever deeply, will ever take from us what the last four hundred years have taught us, and unless that could happen we cannot enter into the past. It is impossible that we can put ourselves into the position of those who possessed the gift of unquestioning faith; not merely faith in the matter of things appertaining to religion, but faith in the abstract. When this has once been even shaken it can never be the same again; the child-like simplicity has gone, never to return. There can be, we imagine, but little doubt that the introduction of Christianity did very little towards injuring the innocent customs and beliefs which were prevalent here before the coming of St. Augustine.

It was but an assimilation of the truth with what was harmless and pure in the faiths which that truth overthrew.

The Church did not destroy wantonly; she, with consummate judgment, saw then, as now, that if you wish to convert men, the way to attain that end is not to suddenly upheave and violently destroy, and by so doing raise up a bitter spirit of discord. Rather is it better to let all that is in itself harmless remain untouched, and as regards those things which are evil, and therefore hurtful, to endeavour to substitute for them some innocent habit, custom, or practice of a nature sufficiently like the original thing to be attractive to men in a state of civilisation amidst which the original custom was held in veneration.

The great festivals of Christianity undoubtedly took the place (in the northern nations at least) of heathen festivals. The feast of Christmas was not introduced with the light of the Gospel, but was substituted for that held just when the sun was at its lowest, a solemn festival in honour of the lengthening of the days which was then setting in.

In like manner the Feast of St. John the Baptist marks the festival of the sun, who then has gained his greatest strength and power.

Michaelmas, St. Michael and All Angels, does but mark the great festival of the equinox, which was further regarded as a kind of thanksgiving to the invisible powers which ruled the universe for the fruits of the earth.

Had the newly-converted peoples been forbidden to associate any of their accustomed festivals with the religion of Christ it is probable that it would have been much more difficult to

establish it. The process of assimilating the dying faith with the conquering one must have appeared outwardly to have advanced with great rapidity at first. But gradually, as men came to blend the two more and more closely together, the remembrance that there ever had been an earlier one must have died out in the minds of the uneducated: it was change in the great essentials; in all minor and comparatively unimportant matters it was transition only.

But behind all this there was much remained which the Church, so far as we are able to judge, never influenced in any way. The belief in fairies, will-o'-the-wisps, sprites, the properties of the Evil Eye, and numberless things of a similar nature cannot be said to have even the most superficial connection with Christianity. They were firmly rooted when the new religion came and it passed over them, leaving them untouched and unaltered. On the other hand, many of the legends and stories of saints and holy people are taken with very little alteration from purely heathen sources: they are dressed in the outward garb of Christianity, but the skeleton underneath is heathen. It must not be supposed that I intend to imply that these things were intentionally done. It was not so, but natural growth ordered that it should so work out, and the Church then, as now, was powerless to prevent it.

She could not cause these stories, at times beautiful and touching, but more frequently grotesque and absurd, to be blotted out from the hearts and memories of the people.

The Reformation came, and though it spoilt and devastated much, it produced no effect upon what the Church was not able to change—that was beyond its power.

Now and then we are appalled when the curtain is lifted for an instant, and we are face to face with heathendom in a country which has been called Christian upwards of fifteen hundred years. People do not seem to have yet grasped the fact that there is such a thing as stratification of mind, and that the religion of Christ and heathendom can run beside each other in parallel lines close together, having little or no influence upon the other.

The recent case of burning to drive out the fairy-woman in Ireland is an instance of this. Every priest, nay, every teacher of religion in Ireland, would have exhorted the people

against such beliefs, sermons would have been preached, and every possible means taken to have prevented the spread of such a monstrous form of wickedness and folly.

But how could it possibly be done—who was to know that deep down in the heart of the people this relic of heathendom was still an active principle, regulating life much as it may have done two thousand years ago?

This is but one instance, and, as its results were especially shocking it made a great impression on the mind of the world at large. Yet it does not show any more clearly the lasting power of heathen tradition than a dozen other things I could name of less importance only because they have not resulted in such a tragedy. It is not more than twenty-five years since a little Lincolnshire village which contained but sixteen houses was fairly demoralised by the doings of an hysterical girl who was believed to be acting under the influence of witchcraft. So strong did the feeling become that it was gravely debated whether a reputed witch should have blood drawn from her by being wounded, as this would cause her to lose her power for the time being. Whilst beliefs like this are still a living vital force it is not astonishing that some of the old simple harmless customs connecting heathendom with Christianity yet linger amongst us.

There have grown up many names for Palm Sunday, some of them most poetical and beautiful; though perhaps the loveliest of them are not of native origin. St. Jerome speaks of it as Indulgence Sunday; in some parts of Eastern and Southern Europe* it is known as Hosanna Sunday, in memory of Our Lord's entry into Jerusalem. In certain districts of France it is still called Branch Sunday, from a like reason, and the name is to be found both in Spain and Portugal. No doubt the name "Branch" is not always taken directly from the account of Our Lord's triumphal entry into the Holy City, but is an allusion to the custom of decorating churches and crosses with palms, flowers, and green branches upon that day. In Italy it is often known as Olive Sunday, and the Welsh call it Flower Sunday in some districts. There is one name that seems to be used in certain parts of the country to

* "Sacred Archaeology," p. 422.

mean both Palm Sunday and Easter Eve, and that is Pasch Egg Day; Good Friday, too, is at times called Pasch of the Cross. In many places in England and Wales it is customary for people to have upon Palm Sunday small branches of willow with catkins upon them: these are locally known as palms; and as a child I believed that they were the genuine palms spoken of in the New Testament.

In Lincolnshire it is supposed that the catkins ought always to be in bloom by the fifth Sunday in Lent, and children search for them in places where the willow grows; but when Easter falls early, and the season has been a cold and backward one, they are often almost impossible to find in the eastern and northern counties. Canon Atkinson says* that in Cleveland are to be seen crosses made of willow-sticks peeled, and garlanded with the catkins; when made the crosses are hung from the ceiling or some high place about the time of Palm Sunday.

There is a beautiful and touching custom still preserved at Albrighton, in Salop. On Palm Sunday all the graves in the churchyard are decked with daffodils and spring blossoms, which are obtained in the woods or fields round about.

I cannot but believe that this is the lingering remains of decking the churchyard cross on Palm Sunday. When those in power and high places during the sixteenth century destroyed so much that was beautiful they generally included in the spoliation the churchyard crosses. Of those that then escaped the fury of the storm, many were overthrown and desecrated in the following century by the ignorant and intolerant members of the Puritan faction, who seem to have regarded all crosses as an outward and visible sign of what they called "Popery." The churchyard cross was always decked with palms (willows) and flowers upon Palm Sunday, and it formed a station in the Procession of the Blessed Sacrament; thence arose the name of Palm Cross, which we often find applied to the churchyard cross. Now the people had been accustomed not only to seeing the churchyard cross decked with blessed palms when the procession halted there, but they had no doubt helped to adorn it previously with flowers and

* "Cleveland Gloss," 1863, pp. 370, 371.

foliage. Dr. Rock gives a most interesting account of this.* He says :

All about it (the cross) they strewed with flowers and green boughs, and after the Passion had been recited at Mass, blessed palms were brought, and this cross was wreathed and decked with them.

An end came to this simple and touching ceremony ; the crosses were demolished ; but I think the people would naturally crave for something by which they could give outward expression to their devotional feelings ; and what could be more natural than that they should turn to what still remained to them in the churchyards they loved ?

Their graves were there, all untouched by the rude and cruel hands which had been laid upon the cross. They remained green as ever, a memorial of the dead who rested below. Is there any wonder that the living turned to the dead, and heaped upon their last resting-place the blossoms which should have been laid at the foot of the cross ?

Whether this custom lingers elsewhere I do not know, I hope it does. There is at least one English cathedral that yet speaks to us of the procession which carried palms centuries ago. The cloister garth in Wells Cathedral is still known as " Palm Court " ; because it was there that the procession upon Palm Sunday was set in order.

So far as I am aware this is the only instance of anything of the kind amongst the English cathedrals.

There was a curious belief current in Spain and other Catholic countries as late as 1828, which may even yet survive. It appears that palms which had been blessed by the priests and used in the procession upon Palm Sunday were given by the ecclesiastics to their friends, and by them fastened in their balconies, as they were held to be a protection from the effects of lightning.†

At Filey, in Yorkshire, it was customary at one time to eat figs on Palm Sunday ; but I believe it has now quite died out.

There is in Wiltshire a mound known as Silbury Hill ; a writer in " Notes and Queries " ‡ says that it is an ancient

* " The Church of Our Fathers," 1853, vol. iii. part ii. p. 228.

† *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1828, part ii. pp. 301-3.

‡ *March 31, 1877.*

practice for dwellers in the neighbourhood to climb up it on Palm Sunday and there eat figs and drink sugar and water. The Rev. J. E. Vaux * speaks of a strange usage which was practised in Sellack Church, Herefordshire, during the last hundred years. On Palm Sunday one of the churchwardens presented to the clergyman a small bun, and then did likewise to each member of the congregation; his son followed immediately after him with a horn of cider for each person. As each was presented the words "Peace and good neighbourhood" were pronounced and the bun and cider were then consumed by each person before leaving the church. This custom may have some connection with the old drinking known as the Church Ale, which seems to have been a survival from the pre-Christian religious drinking festivals.

At Caistor, in Lincolnshire, the unique practice existed of a man coming into the churchyard while the First Lesson was being read on Palm Sunday, and cracking what is known as a "gad-whip," three times. He then took his place amidst the rest of the congregation. Some time during the reading of the Second Lesson, he walked up to the clergyman, carrying the whip, which had bound fast round it four strips of wych elm, and also attached to it a purse containing thirty pieces of silver. This was waved three times and held over the head of the clergyman by the holder of the whip, who knelt before the clergyman. He remained thus kneeling until the end of the Lesson, when he withdrew.

This man represented the owner of the Manor of Broughton and an estate attached to it, and this was the tenure by which it was held. It was continued until 1846. In some parts of the country the wind is anxiously watched upon Palm Sunday, for it is believed that whatever quarter it blows from upon that day will be the point from which it will most frequently come until the following Palm Sunday.

Good Friday has connected with it many observances relating to the food to be eaten upon that day. Salted cod was usually, and in some places is still, considered to be the correct fish to have for dinner. In many of the accounts of the great religious houses we find that it was customary, at least

* "Church Folk-Lore," p. 232.

in the North of England, to send some member of the order, lay brother, or trusted domestic to Yarmouth and other centres of the herring fishing trade, in order that a sufficient stock of salted herrings might be laid in to last until the end of Lent. Most likely religious houses near the coast would have fresh fish; but inland the supply which might perhaps serve for ordinary occasions and could be obtained from ponds stocked with fish and from rivers would not have proved sufficient for Lent. The most widely-spread custom relating to food upon Good Friday is that of having hot cross buns for breakfast. In England they are well-nigh universal, though the cross upon them differs much in various localities. At Kirton in Lindsey, in Lincolnshire, it seems to be formed by merely drawing a knife twice across the top of the bun; in some places stamps are used, and in my childhood I can remember seeing them made by pricking out a cross with a three pronged fork thus



There were certain superstitions connected with the cross being printed upon bread or buns; for in the thirty-sixth year of Henry III. an enactment was made to the effect that no baker should print upon bread the cross, the *Agnus Dei*, or the name of Our Lord. There are even now certain things pertaining to witchcraft that can only be done with bread which has been consecrated, and most likely this law related to practices of a similar nature.

A quite harmless belief connected with the use of buns upon Good Friday is that they are believed to keep good all the year; but this applies not only to buns with the sacred symbol upon them, but to all bread made that day.

A contributor to "*Notes and Queries*,"* dating from Bridgnorth in 1871, says that some gipsies told him that not only would bread made upon Good Friday keep perfectly fresh and good for one or two years, but that it also had the property of causing other bread, *not* baked upon that day, to retain its freshness in a like manner, if placed upon the same shelf. The writer's housekeeper also showed him a loaf of bread baked upon Good Friday which was a year old, and quite fresh and

* 4 S. vol. viii. p. 26.

good. Another writer in the same volume,* and dating from Pulham, says that the foregoing belief was quite common half a century ago, and at that time many houses there possessed a loaf or cake baked on Good Friday, which was generally marked with a cross, and was supposed to be a remedy for diarrhœa.

The writer goes on to say that his mother always had one baked and it was kept throughout the year, unless taken medicinally.

Another paragraph† speaks of these beliefs as being then currently held in Salop.

I was informed at the Easter of 1895 that in two villages in North Lincolnshire it was the custom to have for breakfast on Good Friday some of the liver of the calf, which is always killed the day before to provide the veal for Easter Sunday. I never heard of this before and do not believe that the practice is at all a common one. We find that in 1328 the Synod of London ordered Good Friday to be observed with due solemnity. (*Festive* does not mean in a festive manner, but "with cumpunction of tears" as the decree itself declares.)

It is firmly believed in some parts of Shropshire that sewing which is done upon Good Friday will never come undone.‡

Good Friday has various names—Black Friday, which some writers believe to be derived from the circumstance that the hangings of the churches were black upon that day. Tertullian calls it Pasch of the Cross; Suffering Friday is also one of its designations.

In Denmark it is called Long Friday, which is said to be an allusion to the long fasts. In Germany it was known as Still Friday, and in France as Passion Friday. These names were all in common use before the Reformation, but some of them have fallen into oblivion. At Brighton we find it named Long Rope Day.§ Perhaps its strangest name is that by which it is known in some parts of Essex—Marble Day. It is customary to play at marbles both there and in Sussex on Good Friday. I do not know whether the practice is general throughout the latter county, but in certain parts of it the

* *Notes and Queries*, 4 S. vol. viii. p. 175.

† *Ibid.* p. 256.

‡ "Shropshire Folk-Lore," ii. p. 334.

§ *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, vol. ix. p. 474.

game is played all day. A favourite place is the road close to the church gates, and the game is continued up to the very moment of the services beginning, and after they are over it at once recommences.

There do not seem to be many customs connecting Good Friday with water in any way; but until between thirty and forty years ago there was at Wellington a well-cistern of clear spring water in a meadow called Margaret's Well Field, and upon Good Friday people suffering from weak eyes used to go and dip their heads into it. The water is chalybeate, impregnated with iron.

No doubt this custom would still continue, but somewhere about thirty years since the spring was drained away, and so the practice was put an end to. An odd custom prevailed at Glenthams in Lincolnshire until about 1832. A bequest of a shilling each was left to be paid to seven old maids of Glenthams for washing upon Good Friday a figure upon a tomb in the church, popularly known as "Molly Grime."

The Rev. J. E. Vaux* says that down to the end of the last century old people at Tenby in Pembrokeshire used to walk bare foot to church on Good Friday; and he also says that it was customary for young people to meet together during Holy Week to make "Christ's bed."

This was done by gathering a quantity of long reeds from the river and weaving them into the form of a man. I should imagine that this was done in a very rude manner. The figure was then laid upon a wooden cross, and it was placed in a retired part of a field or garden and then left.

I am not aware of any English superstition attaching to the fact of being born on a Good Friday beyond the general feeling that all Fridays are unlucky days for birth or anything else. Philip IV. of Spain was born upon that day, and was supposed to possess a kind of second sight—this being popularly attributed in Spain to any one born upon that day.

A very striking feature with regard to Easter Day are the various traditions regarding the forms of food to be eaten upon that high festival. Thirty years ago it was considered in Norfolk necessary to partake of baked custard, but I do not know whether this yet survives.

* "Church Folk-Lore," p. 234.

There is evidence that some of the customs relating to food at Eastertide were connected with the churches. In the State Paper Record Office * there is a petition addressed to Archbishop Laud from the dwellers in Chingunford saying that it was an ancient custom there that, on Easter Sunday after the evening prayers, the clergyman should provide a "church feast" of bread, cheese, and beer for the old people who had attended the evening service and had likewise been to receive the communion in the morning. Laud gave orders that it should be continued in the parsonage house, where it had been held for the last fifty years, not in the church itself, which was the more ancient custom. The reason for the petition being presented was that the incumbent refused to provide it in either place. We do not know the reason why this feast had been held in the church, but most probably it was a survival of, or was in some way connected with, the Church Ale Feast; but whatever it was originally derived from, it had no doubt altered very much in character. It is not likely that at any period so direct a bribe would have been offered to people to make their Easter Communion on Easter Day. Probably, in the first instance, it had nothing whatever to do with Communicating; but that after the Reformation it was considered necessary that some kind of service to be performed for it should be attached to it; this however, is mere conjecture.

There is another very similar instance to this to be found in the parish chest at Berrington, dated 1639, and signed by Wright, Bishop of Lichfield, setting forth that

there hath bene thyme out of mynd an antient custom . . . that the parson of the said parish hath yearly feasted all the parishioners and landholders . . . in the church (a thing noe less profane than irreligious).†

The bishop had in a former letter forbidden this, and in the present one he orders that the "custome be yearly tendered" to them on Easter Monday in any convenient place, the church alone excepted.

This feast was kept up until 1713, and it may even have

* Vol. ccclxii. No. 57, Cal. p. 247.

† "Shropshire Folk-Lore," ii. pp. 341-2

lasted a few years longer, but it seems to have died out during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. It must have been a considerable tax on the purse of the incumbent, unless the landowners assisted by offerings in kind; but this we have no means of knowing. K. H. Digby records that loaves used to be thrown from the top of the steeple of Paddington Church at Easter.*

A curious custom was noted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1829.† Every Easter the parishioners of Clee, Lincolnshire, presented to the vicar a quantity of eggs collected in the parish. We probably get here the lingering remains of the Easter dues. I do not know when this practice was discontinued at Clee, and I never heard of it at any other place. Eggs are, of course, inseparably connected with Easter, and I think there can be but little doubt that the symbolic use of them at this season is one of the customs which Christianity found established here; it is much older than the Gospel.

Eggs are connected with the worship of the powers of Nature; they contain within them the germs of fertility and life. In the spring Nature awakens from her sleep of winter, and the earth is again fruitful; thus eggs as a sign of fertility became associated with the heathen spring festivals, and it naturally followed that the great spring festival of the Church which superseded the heathen ones should retain many of their customs and practices. Parsees distribute eggs at their springtide festival, and amongst them also this dates so far back that nothing is known of its origin. In Hungary the boys sprinkle the girls with rose-water, receiving from them in return presents of Easter eggs.

At the present day in England it is usual to boil eggs in various preparations, so as to colour them, and if care is used a great many shades can be obtained. The practice of colouring them is alluded to by Mary Howitt:‡

And kindly countrywomen yet,
Their Pasch-eggs ready make,
Of divers colours beautiful,
To give for Jesus sake.

* "Lover's Seat," vol. i. p. 113.

† Part i. p. 117.

‡ "Ballads," 1847, *Lilien May*, p. 80.

The custom of giving coloured eggs is yet observed upon Easter morning in Switzerland, Russia, Germany, The Tyrol, and in the East. In France it is, or was until very recently, usual to eat the Pasch-egg before any other food was partaken of on Easter Day.

So universal was the custom of giving Easter eggs in this country in pre-Reformation times, that Paul II. issued a form of benediction for them for England, Scotland, and Ireland.

Mr. Mackenzie Walcot, quoting De Moleon, says that at Algiers, on Easter Sunday, two chaplains standing behind the altar addressed two cubiculars, vested in dalmatic, amice, and mitellas, as they advanced towards them, "Whom seek ye?" They replied: "Jesus of Nazareth, the Crucified," and the answer was, "He is risen, He is not here." Then those who personated the Marys took from the altar two ostrich eggs, wrapped in silk, and descended, chanting, "Alleluia, the Lord is risen."* Very quickly after Christianity was established eggs became a symbol of the resurrection and life beyond the grave. Henry VIII. received a gift from the Pope of a Paschal egg in a case of silver filigree. Most likely this was the egg of an ostrich, as they were then much valued. The writer's father possesses one which is traditionally said to have once hung before the Percy shrine in York Minster.

Whether this be true or not, it has been handed down to its present owner from a daughter of Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, who was beheaded for taking part in "the Rising in the North," and is an ancestor of its possessor. If it be true that it did hang before the Percy shrine, most likely it was taken back by the family to prevent its being stolen or destroyed. The hare is an animal much connected with Easter, and in some parts of southern Germany children are told that the hare lays the Easter eggs.

A friend of mine, some fifteen years ago, saw the figure of a hare put with Easter eggs in the shop windows in Switzerland, and in Germany Easter cards are sometimes printed with eggs and hares together upon them.

A very curious instance of the connection between the hare and Easter is to be found recorded in the "Calendar of State Papers (Domestic)":

* "Sacred Archæology," 1868, pp. 240, 241.

1620. April 2. Thos. Fulnetby solicits the permission of Lord Zouch, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, to kill a hare on Good Friday, as huntsmen say that those who have not a hare against Easter must eat a red herring.

At Coleshill, in Warwickshire, if the young men of the parish can catch a hare and bring it to the parson before ten o'clock on Easter Monday, he has to give them a calf's head and a hundred eggs for their breakfast, and also a groat in money. When this fell into disuse I do not know, but I do not think it is yet surviving. There was a pastime at Leicester named "Hunting the Easter Hare," which seems to have partaken of the nature of a ceremonial. It is mentioned in the records of the town in 1668, but is described as an ancient custom there.

The mayor and corporation, arrayed in their scarlet gowns and attended by their officers, went to Leicester Forest to see a dead cat, which had been dipped in aniseed water, and trailed at the tail of a horse. The hunt always ended at the door of the mayor's dwelling, where no doubt the whole party then refreshed themselves. This custom fell into disuse about 1767. In the Chamberlain's accounts for 1574 there is an item of 12*d.* "given to the harefinders at Whetstone Court." Shakespeare has been supposed to allude to the Easter hare when he makes Benedick say "Cupid is a good harefinder." *

In Albert Dürer's "Smaller Passion" the hare is the principal dish in the Last Supper, and this is regarded as evidence that it was, in his time, eaten at or about Easter. At Hallowthorton, in Leicestershire, a piece of land was bequeathed to the rector for providing "two hare pies, a quantity of ale, and two dozen penny loaves to be scrambled for every Easter Monday." † Before the enclosure took place, this land was known as Hare-cross Leys, and when the enclosure and division of the open lands took place in 1770, the rector obtained a portion in lieu of the Leys. ‡

Canon Atkinson tells us § that in Cleveland periwinkles are called Easter shells, and are supposed to be in season from Easter

* "Much Ado," act 1, scene i.

† *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1922, pp. 628, 629.

‡ *Ibid.* 1833, p. 207.

§ "Cleveland Dialect," p. 161.

to Ascension Day. At Nettleham wake or feast, held at Easter, which was (and may still be) called The Flaun, cheesecakes were eaten. Flaun is the name of a kind of cheesecake or baked custard, for they both are at times so called. Tusser says : *

Fill the oven with flawns, Jenny, pass not for sleep,
For to-morrow thy father his wake-day will keep.

So it is evident that flawns were a common dish upon feast-days in the sixteenth century.

It used to be the custom at Hawk Church, Dorset, for the parish clerk to take round to the chief houses upon Easter day cakes composed of currants, flour, and butter. They were powdered with sugar and sold well.

At Pulverbatch, in Shropshire, old-fashioned people ate "the last of the mince pies" on Easter Sunday; these are made from some of the Christmas mincemeat which has been saved until Easter. The pastry part of the pies is of course newly made.

At Ludlow it is, or was until recent times, considered to be the correct thing to have for dinner upon Easter Sunday a leg of pork stuffed with ground ivy. Brand,[†] quoting from Seldon's "Table Talk," says that it was then the fashion to have a gammon of bacon at Easter to show that you were not a Jew. The following I have taken from the *Daily Telegraph*; it describes a curious old Kentish custom. This account is for 1895:

Biddenden, a quiet and retired Kentish village, whose acquaintance Londoners in search of Easter tranquillity might do worse than cultivate, presented yesterday afternoon the same spectacle on a larger scale that it did on Paschal Sunday about the time of the Norman Conquest. At the beginning of the twelfth century there lived in Biddenden two twin sisters—Eliza and Mary Chulkhurst—who were the precursors of the Siamese Twins. They were joined together in the back by two ligaments, and after they had passed a joint existence of thirty-five years one of them died. The other was advised to have the cords of unity dis severed, but she refused, saying, "As we came together, so also shall we go together." Six hours afterwards she followed her sister into eternity. By their will they bequeathed to the churchwardens of the

* "Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry," The Ploughman's Feasting Days, 5.

† Brand's "Ant." vol. i. p. 99.

parish certain lands, of which the rents were to be devoted to supplying the poor with doles of bread and cheese every Easter Sunday. The income now amounts to about £40, and, as may be supposed, such a sum is sufficient to put Biddenden into a state of festivity for one day in the year. Visitors from neighbouring places flocked to the village, which was turned into a kind of fair, after the services in the church had been celebrated by the vicar, the Rev. W. Peterson. There are two distributions under the will of the united sisters. In the first place 1000 hard-baked rolls, each stamped with a representation of the foundresses of the feast, were distributed among visitors who might be in want of refreshment. They are very durable, as they are as hard as wood, and may be kept as curiosities for twenty years. It would take the same time to digest them if eaten. The second distribution consisted of loaves and cheese, and was limited to the poor of the village. One of the churchwardens sat at a little window of the workhouse, and to each of the poor parishioners who marched past in single file he handed a loaf and a large piece of cheese. The ceremony finished, many of the visitors attempted to soften their cakes in Kentish ale, and passed the rest of the day in old-world conviviality. Biddenden then resumed the quietude which it will retain until the memory of its twin sisters is celebrated next Oster Day.

I have tried to obtain evidence as to the truth of the existence of these sisters, but have failed to do so. The Vicar, in answer to my inquiries very courteously presented me with some of the hard biscuits, which are, after a lapse of nearly two years, quite fresh and good. A curious custom was also observed at St. Mary Woolnoth, in the City, on Easter Day, 1895. Every member of the congregation upon leaving the church after morning service was presented with a coloured hard-boiled Easter egg, having written upon it, "My Redeemer." I also have one of these eggs. In Lincolnshire it is considered the right thing to have roasted veal for dinner on Easter Sunday. Tusser says : *

When Easter comes who knows not than
That veal and bacon is the man.

There is a general belief all over the country that everyone ought to wear something new on Easter Day ; unless this is done you will have no good luck till the following Easter. In West Shropshire they say that unless this is done the rooks

* "Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry," *The Farmer's Daily Diet*, chapter xii.

will spoil your clothes. There is a pretty Easter custom at Hewelsfield in the Forest of Dean. The clergyman, as he enters the Church upon the morning of that day, is presented with two bouquets by the churchwardens; one of them he places upon the altar and the other is worn by the officiant. I never heard of this at any other place.

There is a widely spread belief that the sun always dances when he rises upon Easter Day, and people used to climb the Wrekin and other hills to watch for it.

I cannot find this piece of folk lore in the eastern or northern counties.

In Saxony and Brandenburg the peasants still climb the hills to watch the sun, who is supposed to give three leaps for joy on Easter Day when he arises. In Sussex* Easter is known as Holy Sunday, and it is believed that the reason no one ever sees the sun rise is because the devil always puts a hill in the way on purpose to prevent it.

Suckling, in his "Ballad upon a Wedding," says :

But oh, she dances in such a way,
No sun upon an Easter Day
Is half so fine a sight.

In certain parts of England a curious custom named "Heaving" is practised at Easter-tide, usually on the Monday and Tuesday. In Shropshire they are called Heaving Monday and Tuesday.

I believe it is only known in the counties bordering upon Wales, in Wales itself, and in some few places in the North of England. Men heaved or lifted women high in the air, seated in a chair, and women heaved men in the same manner. People who refused to be heaved were expected to pay a fine instead. It at times degenerated into a very rude form of horseplay.

The origin of the practice seems lost—some meaning it must have had, but I have never read in any account of the sport any explanation which seems satisfactory. That it is of ancient origin we know, and that it probably may have had

* "Sussex Dialect," 1875, p. 75. Parish.

a heathen beginning, but that is the extent of our knowledge. It is mentioned in the "Taylor MS." *

1548-9. This yeare & the tuesday after Ester hollydays ij yonge men of Salop whose names were Edmonde Reynolds & Robart Clarke were smothered under the hiding themselves from mayds the hill fallinge part the rof upon them.

They were in hiding from the girls who were going to heave them.

Heathendom, though outwardly dead for centuries, lives still amidst us. The form it takes is harmless and often beautiful, and those who do the things which appertain unto it know not the meaning of what they do. It is those who no longer practise the old customs, but who watch them and try to form some more or less correct theories as to their meaning, who have come in a dim and struggling manner to see behind the veil with which Christianity has shrouded what went before.

FLORENCE PEACOCK.

* Edited by the Rev. W. A. Leighton in "Transactions of the Shropshire Archeological and Natural History Society," 1880.

Science Notices.

The Progress of Wireless Telegraphy.—One night, ten years ago, a dynamo at the Ferranti Electric Lighting Station at Deptford became accidentally connected with earth. This apparently trifling incident was followed by somewhat serious consequences, as the whole of the railway telegraphs in the signal-boxes of the railways in South London were temporarily put out of order. Furthermore, the currents flowing in the earth were perceived in the telegraph instruments as far northwards as Leicester, and as far south as Paris. Doubtless this accident was responsible for the revival of experiments in wireless telegraphy, which appear to have been originally made by Morse himself as early as 1842 on the Susquehanna river, which is about a mile wide. Professor Silvanus Thompson, in his recent paper on the subject at the Society of Arts, maintains that there is in reality no such thing as wireless telegraphy, for though wires do not run from the sending to the receiving station they are used as base lines, and he quotes as an example the case of the longest distance yet reached in telegraphing by electric waves, which is thirteen miles, when the wires used as base lines at either end were some 1000 feet. Mr. W. H. Preece, however, in his discourse on the subject at the Royal Institution last June, stated that when Hertzian waves are utilised for telegraphy across space, the conductors can be dispensed with altogether if reflectors are used, and so in this case wireless telegraphy is not a misnomer. There are three systems by which it is possible to telegraph without the use of wires between the sending and receiving stations.

1. *By Conduction.*—In the case of the accident at the Ferranti station, the currents that disturbed the instruments in the signal-boxes of the railways in South London were conveyed through the earth by conduction. In some of Mr. W. H. Preece's experiments in wireless telegraphy, he appears to have made use of the principle of conduction, though in others he has employed electro-magnetic induction. In the Science Notices of this REVIEW, January, 1894, I made reference to these experiments, and it was then stated that the claim that the effects were due to induction was disputed. Mr. Preece has, however, in certain experiments, clearly proved that the transmission was due to induction, though this fact does not prove that some of the earlier

experiments were not due to conduction. As an example of such a probability, in 1882 he carried out a series of experiments upon the establishment of telegraphic communication between the Isle of Wight and the Hampshire coast, without any connecting cable across the Solent. Large metal plates to serve as electrodes were immersed in the sea at the ends of two base lines. On the Hampshire coast the base line extended through Southampton to Hurst Castle, a length of twenty miles. On the Island the base line extended from Ryde through Newport to Scone Point, and was about ten miles long. From Portsmouth to Ryde the breadth of the sea was six miles, while Hurst Castle is only about a mile from Scone Point. By this arrangement signals were passed in dot and dash which could be read on the Morse system with ease, though telephonic speech was not feasible. Another remarkable case of signalling by conduction was carried out in 1894 by Dr. W. Rathenau, Mr. E. Rathenau, and Professor Rubens. At the south end of the open water of the Wannsee, which opens into the Havel near Potsdam, they immersed two metal electrodes, each having about fifteen square metres of surface at the two ends of a base line about 550 feet long. At a distance of three miles across the water, near the shore at Neu Cladow, they erected a secondary base line with electrodes of four square metres each. These were hung in the water from two boats, between which the connecting line of about 330 feet was stretched. In this line was inserted a telephone. By means of several accumulators, a rotating interrupter giving 150 currents per second, and a Morse key, signals were injected into the base line, and they were heard distinctly. It is noteworthy that the interposition of a large sandbank between the two stations did not materially interfere with the signals.

Professor Silvanus Thompson thinks that the simple principle of conduction through earth and water is so practical that with properly designed instruments "signals could easily be sent from one part of the globe to another."

2. *By Induction.*—The induction method may be subdivided into that of (1) Electrostatic Induction; and (2) Electro-magnetic Induction. Professor Silvanus Thompson quotes an interesting and useful case of the former, suggested thirteen years ago by Mr. Wiley Smith, and further developed by Messrs. Gilliland and Edison. The arrangement consists in suspending a wire over the permanent way of a railroad. If this wire is electrified, either positively or negatively, charges are induced upon the metallic roofs of the cars, in connection with instruments on the train. These signals may be communicated to a train in motion from the wire without any material connection.

This system was actually used for a time by the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company, but the privilege does not seem to have been appreciated, and it was afterwards abandoned. When an electric current in a wire is increasing or diminishing it may induce another electric current in another wire in its neighbourhood by electro-magnetic induction. Professor Silvanus Thompson describes this effect as being dependent upon the properties of the intervening medium, and proportional to its magnetic permeability. The ether of space, air, water, soil, and rock are of about equal permeability. As has been mentioned above, Mr. Preece has shown that telegraphic transmission may be carried on in this way, and Professor Silvanus Thompson bears testimony to the validity of his inductive experiments. Mr. Preece has erected parallel base lines, sometimes in South Wales, sometimes near the mouth of the Dee, sometimes in Scotland. He has laid out, flat on the ground, great squares of insulated wire, to test the inductive transmission from one area to another. On Newcastle Town Moor, and on the sands at Penarth he has thus operated. It is not always easy in his experiments, particularly in those where earth connections were used, to be certain how much of the effect was due to true induction and how much to earth conduction. But in some of the cases there can be no doubt whatever. An excellent *résumé* of his work was given by him at the Chicago Congress in 1893. In this he describes how in one series of experiments he laid out on a level plain two quarter-mile squares of copper wire insulated with gutta-percha, the distances between the two nearest sides of the two squares being also a quarter of a mile. In this case, using rapidly interrupted or vibratory currents, and a Morse key to break them up into Morse signals, and applying in the other circuit a receiving telephone, conversation in the Morse code could be held readily between the two operators. This arrangement precluded all idea of earth conduction. In effect, Mr. Preece was working with a strange species of transformer, of which his two squares constituted respectively the "primary" and the "secondary," the core of the transformer being in this case partly of earth and partly of air.

One advance in connection with the inductive method of transmission was made by Dr. Oliver Lodge in 1888. While experimenting upon the oscillatory discharge he found that two circuits could be turned into resonance, or, as he called it, sytony, with each other, in such a way that when an oscillating electric spark took place in one of the circuits the inductive effect on the other immediately set up in it electric oscillations which manifested themselves by an overflow spark. This experiment throws out a possibility of signalling induc-

tively from one area to another, and using around those areas, not merely circuits of wires, but sytonic circuits, which therefore are necessarily much more sensitive in their response one to the other.

3. *By Electric Waves.*—The latest forms of wireless telegraphy consists in the utilisation of electric waves, which are conveyed by the ether of space, and are independent of any material medium. This departure in telegraphy is the practical utilisation of the laboratory researches of Hertz, which, when describing in the January number of this REVIEW, 1890, I suggested might lead to the abolition of material telegraphic wires. In these experiments Hertz showed how electric oscillations could be produced, and how they could travel and be detected. M. Marconi's recent experiments in wireless telegraphy are simply the exaggeration of these experiments. Since Hertz's death his work has been vigorously carried on by several scientists, and much has been done to improve both the transmitter and detector. The transmitter M. Marconi uses is Professor Righi's form of Hertz's radiator, in which the spark gap is immersed in oil or vaseline between two metal plates. The use of oil has several advantages. It keeps the surfaces of the spheres electrically clean, avoiding the continual polishing of Hertz's exposed balls. It gives the waves excited by the spheres a uniform and constant form, and it reduces the wave lengths. Hertz's waves were measured in metres, but the waves produced by Righé are measured in centimetres. M. Marconi's waves are about 120 centimetres long. The detector used by M. Marconi is of the type known as a "coherer." It consists of a small glass tube four centimetres long, into which two silver pole pieces are securely fitted. These are separated from each other by half a millimetre. The space is filled up with a mixture of fine nickel and silver filings, to which is added a trace of mercury. The tube is exhausted to a vacuum of four mm. and sealed. It forms part of a circuit containing a local cell and sensitive telegraphic relay. In its normal state the metallic powder is an insulator, and the particles are mixed up anyhow, lightly touching each other in an irregular manner. When, however, the electric waves fall upon them, they are "polarised," order ensues, and they cohere, giving a path to the passage of a current of electricity. After the coherer has operated, it remains in the conductive state until subjected to some mechanical jar or shock. M. Marconi decoheres by making the local current very rapidly vibrate a small hammer-head against the glass tube, which it does very effectually, and in so doing makes such a sound that reading Morse characters is easy. It is arranged that the same current which decoheres can also record Morse signals on paper by ink. Some two

years ago M. Marconi first came to this country, and induced the British Telegraph Department to give him facilities for experimenting upon telegraphy by electric waves. His first experiment took place on Salisbury Plain. Afterwards he sent signals for nine miles across the Bristol Channel, using two vertical conductors as base lines, earthed at their lower ends, and carrying at the top extended surfaces. At Spezzia, over land and water, special signals were transmitted for four and a half miles, but over the open sea alone they were transmitted for thirteen miles, which seems to indicate that over open sea a much greater distance can be attained with a coast line of a given length. M. Marconi calculates the vertical length of base line needed for communicating across the English Channel at Dover to be 265 feet, while from London to Paris over land and sea would require 4700 feet. He also calculates that base lines of 6600 feet would be sufficient were it not for the curvature of the globe to signal across the Atlantic. When great distances are in question, altitude is needed for the apparatus, and tall masts, kites and balloons have been used for elevation. Mr. Preece has remarked that hills and apparent obstacles fail to obstruct, and considers that the probable reason is that the lines of force escape these hills. When the ether is entangled in matter of different degrees of inductivity the lines are curved as in fact they are in light. A hill is virtually bridged over by these lines, and consequently some electric waves fall on the relay. Weather has no influence, and the signals have been transmitted through rain, fogs, snow and wind. Last year further experiments were carried out by Professor Slaby of Charlottenburg on a still larger scale, and over a large open space of country—from Rangsdorf to Schöneberg. He transmitted signals for over thirteen miles. The elevated conductors for these experiments were raised by means of hydrogen balloons to heights of nearly 1000 feet. Mr. Preece does not consider these experiments to have yet reached a commercial stage. In his recent discourse on the subject at the Royal Institution he says :

There are a great many practical points connected with this system that require to be threshed out in a practical manner before it can be placed on the market, but enough has been done to prove its value, and to show that for shipping and lighthouse purposes it will be a great and valuable acquisition.

Professor Silvanus Thompson is of opinion that the road to commercial success lies in "establishing real sympathy between the sending and receiving parts of the apparatus to render it as far as possible sensitive and independent, without which conditions such systems will become too costly and too unmanageable for commercial ends."

The Recording of Unfelt Earthquakes—The Diurnal Wave.

—Professor John Milne's discourse on "Recent Advances in Seismology," published in the current number of the Proceedings of the Royal Institution, is a lucid exposition of a subject which has not been very widely popularised. He considers the greatest triumph in seismological investigations to be the fact that any large earthquake, occurring in one portion of the globe, can with suitable instruments be recorded in any other part. For the following reasons it is supposed that the earthquake movements are transmitted through the earth and not round the earth:—(1) Because the rate at which these movements are propagated is so very high, in some instances approaching 12 k.m. per second, or double the rate at which a wave of compression could pass through steel or glass; (2) because at a given station we have never recorded two disturbances which we should expect had the movement like a barometrical wave been transmitted in all directions round the earth; (3) because it appears that the velocity to points at a great distance from an origin is higher than that to points relatively near the same. As these velocities throw light on the effective rigidity of the materials constituting the path along which they were determined the importance of establishing several recording instruments in different parts of the world is obvious. The Professor thinks there would be no difficulty in setting up these instruments at about twenty existing observatories. The cost of such a seismic survey of the world would not be very extravagant; it would be covered by about £1000, which is considerably less than the sum required for the purchase of a modern telescope. The establishment of these instruments would secure several advantages to science.

In addition to the speedy announcements of great catastrophes in distant places, the records of these and of disturbances of a more local origin, would throw light upon some of the otherwise unaccountable deflections sometimes shown in photograms from manetographs, barographs, and other instruments sensible to slight displacements.

It also appears probable that the records of such instruments would throw light upon the origin of submarine disturbances, and on the changes taking place in ocean beds. They might also lead to the identification of districts, which those who lay cables are desirous of avoiding, and possibly might show that cable ruptures are often due to natural causes rather than artificial ones.

There are other practical considerations which support the project. The recording instrument may be useful in forestalling the telegraphic news of an earthquake disaster which is often not to be depended upon for accuracy. There have been good examples of this work in

the records obtained from the instruments in the Isle of Wight. For instance, in 1896, for some weeks the newspapers gave information that on June 17 the eastern coast of Japan had been inundated by sea waves, and that some 30,000 people had lost their lives, news which caused no inconsiderable private and official anxiety for the safety of men-of-war, merchant vessels, or private persons due to reach the stricken parts on those days. The Isle of Wight seismograms showed that in this instance there had been a telegraphic error, the disaster having taken place on the 15th, two days previous to the date announced.

Again, on August 21 of the same year, the diagrams indicated at a distance of 6000 miles, and therefore probably in Japan, that there had been a violent earthquake beginning at 5.7 p.m. The detailed information concerning the disaster did not reach this country until the mails arrived four weeks later. The earth waves only took sixteen minutes to travel from Japan to England.

In the same year alarming news was reported concerning a disaster in Kobe, causing much anxiety amongst those who had friends or property in that prosperous city. But the Isle of Wight instruments showed nothing which was evidence that the telegraphic news was untrustworthy. In reality the message was devoid of all foundation.

Another subject connected with earth movements, and treated by Professor Milne, is the diurnal wave. This is apparently traceable to external influences. At Shide, in the Isle of Wight, conical pendulums are installed with their booms in the meridian, on the eastern side of a valley which runs north and south. The movements are such that on fine days these booms point towards the sun, showing that in the morning there is a downward tilting towards the east, and in the afternoon towards the west, while at night the motion is eastward. The direction of the movement, which may have a range of 2" or 3", varies for different places. For instance in Japan, on parallel ridges, bounding a swampy valley, the simultaneous movements on these ridges were found to be in contrary directions. Such effects might be ascribed to expansion or contraction in the surface soil, or warping of the piers carrying the instruments following changes of temperature. This theory is, however, not tenable, as we find that the movements are practically as marked in an underground chamber, where the changes in temperature are exceedingly small.

The Professor suggests a possible explanation of these movements :

Another cause to which we may turn as possibly throwing light upon these movements, lies in the fact that by the action of the sun there is on two sides of most observing stations a difference in the load which by evaporation is carried up in the atmosphere and there dissipated. As an

illustration of this, if on one side of an observatory we had a field of clover, and on the other side a surface of earth, the difference in the loads removed during a day in summer would often exceed twelve pounds per square yard, because the clover side would be the one which would be the most relieved, this would tend to rise, and the pendulum would swing towards the uncovered surface. At night time the causes leading to a slow return of the pendulum towards its normal position would be varied. For example, the area which during the day had lost the most by evaporation would be the one presenting the greater number of points for the condensation of moisture as it rose from the ground, which on the bare side would be free to escape to the atmosphere. Hence the clover-covered surface would relatively to the ground on the opposite side to the pendulum grow heavy, be depressed, and the pendulum take up a retrograde motion which usually appears to be somewhat less than the daylight displacement.

The Source of Light in Flames.—Recent investigations in the cause of light in flames show that this subject is more complex than it appeared in the days when Faraday delivered his famous course of juvenile lectures on "The Chemical History of a Candle." The researches on the subject were commenced eighty years ago by Sir H. Davy, who laid the foundation for our scientific knowledge of flames. Sir H. Davy concluded that whenever a flame is remarkably brilliant or dense it may be always supposed that some solid matter is produced in it. Dr. Edward Frankland, fifty years later, further investigated the subject, and somewhat dissented from Davy's views. He pointed out that bright flames exist which do not contain solid particles; he also thought that the luminosity of ordinary hydrocarbon flames, such as that of coal gas, is not due in any important degree to solid particles of carbon, but almost entirely to the glow of dense hydrocarbon vapours. Professor Smithells' researches certainly tend to show that neither Davy nor Dr. Frankland entirely mastered the problem. Professor Smithells is of opinion that the primary source of light in flames is to be found in the intense vibratory motion which is determined by the act of chemical union, a secondary cause of light arises when the temperature effect of the primary combustion causes the glow of a product or partial product of combustion. This may sometimes be a glowing solid and sometimes a glowing gas, as is shown by the study of two flames: (1) that of hydrogen phosphide, (2) that of silicon hydride.

When hydrogen phosphide is sufficiently diluted with carbon dioxide, the flame has the same green glow as is observed in the case of carbon dioxide charged with phosphorus vapour. This glow is ascribed to the formation of an oxide of phosphorus, and since phosphorus oxide itself glows in presence of oxygen with the same light,

It is concluded that the oxide whose formation determines the glow is the pentoxide. When the proportion of hydrogen phosphide to carbon dioxide is slightly increased, a new kind of luminosity is developed in the flame towards the tip. This is at first of a yellowish colour, but becomes whiter and brighter as the supply of carbon dioxide is increased or diminished. When the carbon dioxide is entirely withdrawn the pure hydrogen flame is as brilliant as burning phosphorus. This white light is secondary in origin and the result of high temperature produced by the intense chemical action. It appears, in fact, in the exact place where, considering the flame as a heating agent, the effective temperature would be highest. This explanation is confirmed by placing a ring of copper wire horizontally in the lower part of the flame to conduct away the heat, when the yellow luminosity vanishes. The question arises, what substance causes the yellow or white light? It might have been supposed to be due to phosphorus separated within the flame by decomposition of the hydrogen phosphide. An experiment, however, has shown that this cannot be the cause. When oxygen is introduced into the middle of the flame the luminosity is increased. This would not be the case if the substance was phosphorus. On the other hand it would be diminished. Hydrogen pentoxide is probably the substance responsible for the effect. If a Bunsen burner is held above the hydrogen phosphide flame, the yellow white glow is extended upwards into the Bunsen flame, in fact the phosphide pentoxide can be traced by its white glow as long as the temperature of the surroundings is at a certain point. That the hydrogen phosphide flame is devoid of solid particles can be proved by concentrating the sun's rays or those of a powerful artificial light upon it. In this case there is an example of the brightness of a flame caused by a glowing gas.

When the flame of silicon hydride is diluted with carbon dioxide, a pale greenish flame is obtained, silica being the product. The green colour may therefore be supposed to be due to the formation of this compound. By reducing the supply of carbon dioxide, as in the case of the hydrogen phosphide flame, the luminosity is increased. It can be diminished by cooling with the metallic ring. When the flame is examined under sunlight, it is seen that the bright light is due to glowing solid particles, differing from the case of phosphorus hydride, in which it has been explained there is a glowing gas.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

A Frenchman's View of Africa.—Mr. Lionel Decle's massive volume, dedicated to Mr. Rhodes and introduced with a preface by Mr. H. M. Stanley,* is remarkable as a study of British Africa from the point of view of an impartial foreign witness. His approval of English colonial methods having drawn down on him the displeasure of his own countrymen, his present volume is published in English, which from early residence in the country is as familiar to him as his native tongue. His wanderings carried him from Capetown to Mombasa by way of Zambesia, Nyassaland, and Uganda, and were thus mainly through British colonies or protectorates. The principal exception was his stay in the Portuguese territories on the Zambesi, where his keen powers of observation found much to criticise. The administrative system there is based on that ancient source of oppression, the farming out of the taxes, the prazzos or districts forming the contributory units being put up to auction for a term of twenty-five years at a time. The abuses of the *régime* are increased by the option allowed the lessee of converting the poll-tax, supposed to be levied at a fixed rate per head, into a labour equivalent, thus reducing the natives to the worst form of slavery—that in which the restraining interest of ownership does not come into play. He is bound to have all the land in his district under cultivation at the end of his term, and is entitled to maintain a certain number of Sepoys with the obligation of lending them to the Government when requisitioned for the public service. These Sepoys are exempt from taxation, but are compelled to perform various duties. Thus, they may be hired out as porters at a rate of 10s. per head for a five days' march, of which he will pay them 1s. 10d. worth of calico and sixpennyworth of food for the journey, on the return from which they will have to bring back goods for him. On an expedition requiring 50 porters, he will in this way make a profit of £25, while his monopoly of labour renders it impossible to procure it save through him. The lessees also make lucrative speculations in ivory-hunting, advancing money for the outfit of the hunters, and thus entangling them in debt after the

* "Three Years in Savage Africa." By Lionel Decle. London: Methuen. 1898.

manner of usurers in all countries. Another class of official peculiar to Portuguese Africa is that of Capitao Mor, blacks with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the Portuguese army who raise irregular troops and are supplied with arms by the Government. They employ their forces in slave-raiding and every form of brigandage, and are, the author says, "guilty every day of frightful atrocities," of which he gives some examples.

Problems of Government in Nyassaland.—The difficulties which confronted Sir Harry Johnston in the organisation of British Central Africa were, according to Mr. Deele, widely different from those encountered in the administration of Charterland. There the high veldt invites by its climate and elevation the settlement of a white population, but in Nyassaland only a small area of plateau presents these conditions, and the development of the country must be effected by native labour under European direction. For this purpose a settled and industrious black population is required, and the first step towards this end was the defeat and dispersion of the free-booting Arabs who have harried and decimated the native tribes. This has been done in a series of successful campaigns, with the assistance of Sikhs and other natives of India, who have been encouraged to settle in the country, with a view not only to their military services, but also to their permanent influence as a civilising influence intermediate between the African and the European. As traders, and in minor administrative posts, they have been of great use, and it seems likely that the brown man may be a valuable connecting link between the black and the white. The natives of Nyassaland are perhaps a solitary instance of a people who voluntarily offered to pay taxes, and the hut-tax, reduced to 3s. per annum, is cheerfully paid by them now that the subsidy of £17,000 a year at first contributed by the Chartered Company has ceased. Coffee, sugar, and ivory form the principal exports, but there is scarcely any tropical produce that cannot be raised in the Protectorate. Its history is a striking instance of the administrative ability of Englishmen when left a free hand, unhampered by the red-tape of Circumlocution Offices at home. A regular post and telegraph service now connects it with England *via* Salisbury and Capetown.

House Building in New Guinea.—The dwellings of the natives of New Guinea, that island continent with an area of nearly 300,000 square miles, are depicted in an interesting series of

photographs reproduced in an article by Mr. Dering in the *Wide World Magazine*. All, as other travellers have told us, are raised on posts some five or ten feet high, and reached by a notched log or plank. Many, too, are built in streams and rivers, but here we have a picture of a marine village like a collection of bathing-boxes, erected in the open sea at a considerable distance from the mainland. Its isolated position is intended, of course, for protection against attack by hostile tribes. A still more singular expedient for defence is shown in the picture of an aerial village consisting of refuge houses or huts propped on the branches of trees at a height of some twenty to thirty feet above the ground, and accessible only by rough ladders which are drawn up by the inmates. In most places, however, these refuge huts are only used as temporary asylums in which to seek safety from the head-hunters when on the war-path. Look-out platforms are constantly built on trees, and sometimes provided with a bucket and rope by which the aerial sentry is supplied with provisions. Ladders, again, form the only means of access to other villages perched on overhanging crags, or on a peak so steep and narrow that only by passing through the house first reached can the others be arrived at. In some parts of the island it is usual to have separate dwellings for the sexes, "man-houses," sometimes 100 ft. in length, for the males, and "women-houses" for the women and children. A commoner type is that of the tribal house on the plan of a stable, in which each family has a separate stall open to the passage down the middle. These habitations are sometimes on a very large scale, one measuring as much as 520 ft. long by 30 wide. Bunches of skulls fastened to a stick like a cluster of fruit on a bough are the most prized decorations of the Papuan house, as a visible symbol of the owner's prowess as a warrior. The victims are in some cases shot with poisoned arrows six feet in length, which can be made to carry a distance of from 150 to 200 yards. The fallen foe is beheaded with a bamboo knife handed down as an heirloom and indicating by its notches the number of times it has been used in this way. Another instrument of capture is the "man-catcher," a flexible rattan fastened at one end in a loop, into which a sharp spike protrudes. As it is slipped over the foe a sudden jerk is given to it, which causes the latter to impale the base of his skull.

British Officers in Tibet.—Captain Wellby, of the 18th Hussars, gave the Royal Geographical Society on May 9 an interesting account of the journey across Tibet from west to east performed by him and

Lieutenant Malcolm, of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, in the spring and summer of 1896. As they started from Leh, in Ladakh, at a season when the passes were still closed, they were compelled to make a considerable circuit, going by way of Shusal, on the Pangong Lake. Here their difficulties began, as the easterly routes were unknown, and after crossing one pass 18,500 ft. high, they were turned back by a party of Tibetan officials. On May 31 they began the transit across the Chang, or unexplored portion of Northern Tibet, and continued throughout June to travel eastward along broad open valleys about 16,000 ft. above the sea, in which salt lakes abounded, but fresh water was only obtained by digging. On August 21 they reached a large fresh-water lake hemmed in to the north by grassy hills overtopped by a distant rampart of snow, while on the south a vast plain extended to a distant mountain horizon. Wild yak and kiang grazed in numbers on the lower slopes, and skeletons of the former animals lay in scores along the shores of the lake, as though they had all repaired thither to die. Hares, too, were plentiful, and flights of waterfowl were constantly on the wing above the lake, which, with its sandy shores and flowery steeps, was an artist's and sportsman's paradise. After crossing the ranges to the east, they traversed a desert and eventually encountered some Mongols, from whom they obtained additional men and ponies. The traces of the late Mohammedan rising were seen in the ruins of two Mongol villages, devastated by the rebels in their flight from the Chinese troops. Travelling along the northern bank of the Koko Nor, they overtook immense caravans of yaks laden with wool and salt on their way to China, and found the rich pastures of the adjoining country studded with the black tents of the Bana tribes. China proper was entered at the town of Tankar, the most westerly of the province of Kansu, whence, guided by the missionary, Dr. Rijnhart, they rode to the monastery of Kumbum, containing 4000 Tibetan and Chinese priests, and the "Gold Tiled Temple," the sacred shrine of Eastern Tibet. At Sining mules were hired to Lancheo, whence the journey was continued in a flat-bottomed wool-boat, and subsequently in carts to Peking.

Visit to the Oasis of Siwah.—An attempt to reach the Oasis of Jarabub, the headquarters of Es-Senussi, was recently made by Mr. A. Silva White, who furnished the *Times* correspondent at Cairo with an account of his journey. The Senussite sanctuary, to which no European has ever succeeded in penetrating, is in the Lybian Desert on the confines of Egypt and Tripoli, at a distance of about

130 miles from the coast and 110 to the north-west of Siwah. Both oases lie in the great depression stretching from the Gulf of Sidrah to near Cairo, and are approached by the route passing by the Natron Lakes. Mr. White, travelling with seven native attendants and six camels, took nineteen days to traverse the distance of 450 miles from Cairo to Siwah, his progress being impeded by the khamsin wind blowing very strongly. The Egyptian Mamour and the chief sheikh received him cordially, but the majority of the inhabitants are Senussites, who are entrusted with the duty of preventing travellers from proceeding to Jarabub. Mr. White was informed by the Mamour that it was his duty to prevent him, by force if necessary, from prosecuting his enterprise, and the Senussi sheikhs warned him that they would not prevent the Siwans from massacring his party in case he attempted to do so. This was the fate of a Frenchman, who four years ago eluded their vigilance, and, disguised as an Arab, accompanied an Arab caravan to within a few hours' journey of the sacred oasis. Here he was set upon by a party of mounted men and killed with all his party. Under these circumstances Mr. White wisely decided to return to Cairo after spending a week in the curious fortress town of Siwah, which he was allowed to explore in freedom, examining parts of it which he was told had never been visited before by a European. He took twelve dozen photographs of the narrow streets, in places tunnelled under the houses, as well as of the tombs hewn out of the sandstone rock, and in one morning's work dug up five mummies with a valuable portion of mummy-wrap and a coin of Ptolemy I. Sotor, of which only one other specimen is known. Copies of records and inscriptions were made by Mr. White in a tomb where there were curious wall paintings and pre-Ptolemaic hieroglyphs. These have been deciphered at the Ghizeh Museum, and show the tomb to have been that of Papa, a royal scribe and priest of the XXth Dynasty, 1200 B.C. These are practically the first fruits of modern exploration in the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon, which had been regarded as closed to Europeans by the fanaticism of the Senussites.

River Highways of Siam.—As the rivers are the only means of communication in the interior of Siam, Mr. H. Warington Smyth, in his interesting narrative of five years spent in that country in the official capacity of director of mines, travelled almost entirely by boat in his journeys of investigation. On one of these he ascended the Menam from Bangkok to Pichai, and thence crossed with a caravan of elephants and ponies to the nearest loop of the Me Kawnng

[Mekong], which was then descended from near the border of Burma to the Korat plateau, whence a march with ox-carts of ninety miles completed the circuit by bringing him back once more to the Menam above Ayuthia. On the latter stream and its tributaries a large fraction of the population live in floating houses moored to great posts, the river forming everywhere the main street of the towns on its banks. Water furnishes the only mode of transport for the teak industry, and great rafts of perhaps 150 logs, of a ton weight each, come floating down from the hills in a voyage lasting three months. A hut amidships affords shelter at night, and contains the cooking arrangements presided over by the wife of one of the men. Perched on its roof is the guardian genius of the raft, in the shape of its champion fighting cock, on whom its crew depend for the punctuality of their routine of work. Fishing is both the pastime and profession of great part of the population of Siam, and during the floods which carry its inland waters far over its great plains is carried on in wholesale fashion by damming up the watercourses and netting the pools or setting traps in the channels as the rivers fall. In the higher reaches a row of stakes is planted at the head of the rapids, and a row of roofed-in stagings erected over the gaps left between, at intervals of about twenty yards. The only light is that transmitted through the water below, and on the three-foot ledge surrounding the well in the centre the men sit all day watching to spear or net a passing fish, while the rice is cooked and the children play on the same narrow platform. The hundreds of thousands of tons of fish caught every year are salted and pounded into various pastes and preparations intended to flavour and vary the insipid rice which forms the staple of Siamese food. Some of the Siamese fish are veritable river giants. The *pla leum*, caught in the spring, averages 70 lbs. in weight in the *Me Kawng*, and one specimen of the *pla buk*, which comes up to spawn in summer, and is much prized for its roe, scaled as much as 130 lbs. with a length of seven and a girth of over four feet.

Siamese Geography.—The geography of Siam is rendered a confusing study, not only by the fact that every town has several names, and that every river is known by a different one at each part of its course, but that the natives, in reply to the inquiries of travellers, christen the various features of the landscape by descriptive epithets coined for the occasion. Thus a stream is set down as *Hui Hin* or *Hue Noi*, according as its bed is rocky or shallow; it becomes the “near stream” or the “far stream,” according to the point of the

valley it is regarded from; and a mountain changes its designation from the red to the purple peak with the alteration in its hue as seen under different lights from opposite points of the compass. On many of the lower reaches of the Menam again, where houses are scattered at intervals for miles,

each group of two or three [says Mr. Warington Smyth] has the name of Bang So-and-so, and even a solitary farm-place is Ban Something. With the assurance from the boatmen that Bang So-and-so is quite a large place, and that Ban Something is an important point on the river, the population-monger is able to make the river bank in his map show up quite respectably.

The French colonial party has in consequence undergone a severe disappointment in finding that all the names printed in capitals across their maps of Luang Prabang and the left bank of the Me Kawng are frauds, and that the rich country which was to have paid for the deficits of Tongking is an uninhabited jungle.

Navigation of the Me Kawng.—The idea of finding in this great stream a navigable highway into Southern China has been rudely dissipated by its exploration. The Upper Me Kawng flows in deeply rifted mountain gorges, and its course is interrupted by five stretches of rapids, beginning in lat. 14° , within 300 miles of its mouth, and extending in reaches of from twenty to fifty miles of broken water, with more tranquil intervals between, to near Luang Prabang, in lat. 20° . The fact that M. Simon, of the French navy, succeeded by the exertion of indomitable pluck and determination in getting the steam launch *La Grandière* past these obstacles was a *tour de force* well worthy of the applause which greeted it, but its result was to show that the river is utterly useless for the continuous navigation required for commercial purposes, even as a highway to the French Lao provinces. The upper waters of the Me Kawng first become navigable to native dugouts at Chieng Hung, in lat. 22° , the furthest point to which a canoe can be driven against the current, since above this the stream drops from 900 ft. to 1000 ft. for every degree of latitude. This turbulent waterway was descended by Mr. Warington Smyth from Chieng Kawng, close to the Burmese frontier, to Nawng Kai, on the edge of the Korat plateau. The boats for the descent were converted into lifeboats by the ingenious device of lashing bundles of bamboos along the gunwale, thus not only providing air compartments to keep the boat afloat when filled with water, but so adding to her beam as to render her uncapsizable. By means of

this contrivance the most furious rapids were passed in safety, although the boat was actually swamped by the curling-crested waves that broke over her. Large bamboo rafts are much used for shooting these rapids, each constituting a trading village covered almost completely with large round-roofed sheds, accommodating from thirty to forty people on a surface of 100 ft. in length by 20 to 30 ft. in breadth. Some of the Lao boatmen are absent for months at a time collecting cargo for the voyage, for while half of them go up to trade with the hill men, the others build a temporary village on the river bank, and proceed with the construction of the raft. The latter, which is incapable of the return journey, is broken up at Luang Prabang, the market for its cargo of rice and cotton. The gorges of the Upper Me Kawng present varieties of magnificent scenery, as the limestone peaks with their jagged and precipitous outlines tower some 5000 ft. above the nearer cliffs that hem it in.

Ascent of Orizaba.—The giant of the Mexican Cordillera has been less frequently ascended than its neighbour Popocatepetl, and the determination of its height by Mr. A. E. Douglass and his party in April 1897 has therefore considerable interest. Starting from the station of San Andres on the Vera Cruz railway, they reached the summit after a long and arduous climb, the last seven hours of which were on foot, on the morning of the second day, the night having been passed in the Cueva del Muerto, a cave just large enough to afford them shelter. The dimensions of the crater were estimated at 1000 ft. across, and about the same depth, with sides nearly vertical, and the edge so undermined that it is dangerous to go too near. The height of the summit is calculated as 18,240 ft., while that of Popocatepetl is 17,660, Orizaba being thus the highest mountain of the continent south of Alaska. The climbing feats of the Indians put those of the Alpine Club to shame, and it is said that many of them ascend to the snow line on Orizaba and bring down a large load of snow or ice between dawn and dusk.

Notices of Books.

How to Comfort the Sick, especially adapted for the instruction, consolation, and devotion of religious persons devoted to the service of the sick. From the original of Rev. JOSEPH ALOYSIUS KREBS, C.SS.R. 8vo. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1898.

THROUGHOUT this excellent treatise Father Krebs handles his subject in an exhaustive and masterly manner. A vocation of the kind is met with so many arduous, responsible, and painful surroundings, that special graces and heroic sanctity are simply indispensable. In this work no qualification on the part of the sick nurse is left untouched, and the patient is amply supplied with detailed instructions on the last sacraments, and on the virtues that light the death-bed. The accurate and abundant detail that runs through the work forces the conviction that Father Krebs set to his task *corde magno et animo volenti*, for it is, and proves itself, a work of the heart. The numerous authentic examples, of early and recent date throughout the book, besides illustrating each subject as it comes, give a sanction that satisfies the reader beyond room for doubt. One defect (if such it be) appears at page 178, where there is a formula of an "Act of Perfect Contrition," with the parenthetical remark, "To be used by Catholics only." In the Act are the words "I firmly purpose [to confess my sins], &c.," and a foot-note says: "For Protestants it may be used by omitting the words in brackets, 'to confess my sins.'" If there is question of depending at death on an act of perfect contrition solely, the *votum sacramenti* is an equally indispensable adjunct for Protestant as for Catholic patients in such extremes, seeing that the Protestant party in question must have with contrition at least implicitly the desire of entering, which means conforming to the requirements of, the True Church, *i.e.*, of confessing his sins to Christ's legitimate envoy, if he had the opportunity of so doing, save in the case of non-baptism, in which the desire of baptism is necessary. The omission may no doubt have been made in view of cases in which the *votum sacramenti* is only implicitly contained in the dispositions of the dying persons, and where an explicit recognition of the obligation could not be prudently pressed. As it is, the work is a

practical, clear, solid, and eminently useful and necessary contribution to suffering humanity and to those called to the work of alleviation and consolation. It is a sweet tribute to Jesus Christ, whose Passion still exists in His suffering poor, and every one who will read the work will close it with a heartfelt aspiration that every Catholic nurse in the world had a copy of it.

J. M.

Contemplations and Meditations for the Feasts of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints according to the method of St. Ignatius. Translated from the French by a Sister of Mercy. Revised by Rev. W. H. EYRE, S.J. Second edition. 8vo. London: Burns and Oates. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1898.

THIS work of 246 pages is supplementary to a preceding course of Meditations, consisting of four volumes, on the Life and Mysteries of our Lord. There are two divisions, one of thirty-eight Meditations on the exalted virtues and prerogatives of Mary, the other of sixty-three on the lives, virtues, and eminent sanctity of the principal saints. The Reflections on our Blessed Lady are developed on a sound theological basis, and every effort is made to allure the reader into an imitation of her virtues. There is a charm of latent unction about them that insensibly generates a love of Mary, and of all she did in her perfect life. It would be simply impossible for those who make these Meditations with due preparation not to say the Rosary with more reverence and more profit, while better confessions, and daily progress in solid piety would be an equally certain result.

In the division on the saints, the ordinary and the extraordinary things they did for God are handled with much ability. The proof runs through every page that saintship began and reached perfection by the due discharge of the ordinary duties of life, by doing ordinary actions extraordinarily well, and that the brilliant achievements of the great saints were more the result of sanctity already acquired in retirement and obscurity. Happily so for the reader, who has not to look beyond his ordinary actions for pleasing God perfectly, but with St. Augustine will exclaim impatiently, "Quod isti et istae, cur non ego."

It is perhaps to be regretted that these Meditations are drawn up on the Ignatius method, the machinery of which can rarely work its purpose with untrained meditants outside conventual life. But the author, who was probably a Jesuit, was very likely compelled to adopt it. At all events, the Meditations are sure to effect an immense

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M

amount of good, as only God can adequately fill the vacuum of life, which the world never could and never will be able to do.

J. M.

Jewels of Prayer and Meditation from Unfamiliar Sources.

By PERCY FITZGERALD. London: Burns and Oates. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1898. 85 pp.

WE cannot withhold from this little book the tribute of hearty approval, from its being really evident that it is solid and practical and the sincere production of an advanced piety. Free from the formalities that generally attach to works on prayer and meditation, it brings us from flower to flower with all the ease of a charming confusion that is sure to end in securing the fruit. It is admirably adapted to the leisure moments of the poor busy soul stealing a little rest from a world as imperious as it is deceptive. We think it is one of those religious works that are sure to do a large amount of good. When searching for its defects one or two trivial matters attracted our notice. The title includes the clause "from unfamiliar sources." Keeping in mind that the great authentic and recognised sources of spiritual knowledge are already familiarly known to the Christian world, "unfamiliar sources" tend rather to awaken curiosity and make us open our eyes as if a head wind threatened our voyage. The sacred Scriptures, St. Chrysostom, Massillon, Tauler, Savonarola, Thomas More, and Cardinal Manning are familiarly known to the Catholic world, and two names alone justify the strange feature of the title. They are Father Heigham, "an excellent English priest of the seventeenth century," and, wondrously next, Dr. Johnson, one of whose prayers is inserted at page 82. It is an excellent prayer, but its insertion with the authorship evidences a certain elasticity of choice which to many readers will seem incongruous. In matters of devotion the Catholic flock are accustomed to feed upon the Catholic pastures. At page 21 the author gives his translation of the first lines of the "O Salutaris." The first two lines run thus:

Adore the ever-saving Host,
Who opens wide the heavenly post.

A post, in any conventional meaning it has, cannot be said to be opened. But looking to the undoubted worth of the work, this inaccuracy must be overlooked. Whether or not it would be an advantage to remove these apparent defects from coming editions must

rest with the pious author himself. In either case it will always remain true that he has left us a sweet companion on our journey to God.

J. M.

Dominican Missions and Martyrs in Japan. By Father BERTRAND A. WILBERFORCE, O.P. Art and Book Company. Second Edition.

FATHER WILBERFORCE has re-issued his little book on the "Dominican Missions and Martyrs in Japan," incorporating some new facts chiefly drawn from Dr. Casartelli's article in the DUBLIN REVIEW of April 1895. The book is meant to bring into relief the place of the Dominicans in Japan, which has been somewhat ignored. Perhaps this would have been done better if he had dwelt more on the labours which they entered into. They, with Franciscans and Augustinians, had the courage to take up a losing cause. After the two years (1549-1557) which St. Francis Xavier spent in Japan before he made his last voyage, up to 1587, the year of the first edict against Christians, the Portuguese Jesuits had been marvellously successful. When the Dominicans first came in 1601 the storm of persecution had broken. The hill of Nagasaki had been crowned with a circle of crosses. And of the six-and-thirty years during which the Dominicans were in the land, the last twenty at least saw steady and bitter persecution.

We doubt if Father Wilberforce gives a quite adequate account of the causes of the change of native feeling. The eagerness of the Spaniards in the Philippines to share with the Portuguese at Macao, who were first in the field, the profitable intercourse with the Japanese, had something to do with a growth of native suspicion. This may have come to a head by 1590. But the main cause, it would seem, was the rise of that masterful family of Tokugawa. It ruled as the leading clan, seizing the Shogunate, and disguised the fact of its subordination to the Mikado to such an extent that a seventeenth century observer, Dr. Kaempfer, described two sovereigns in Japan, one temporal (*i.e.*, the so-called Tycoon, the Shôgun), the other spiritual (the Mikado). During fifteen generations, and more than two hundred and fifty years—it retired but thirty years ago—this family imposed its policy on Japan, a policy at once military and reactionary. It carved the empire into regular feudal fiefs. With this went a stereotyping of national beliefs and the jealous exclusion of foreign influence. During the period of transition, lasting from 1603-1650, Christians, native and foreign, suffered the terrors of a

persecution which by 1638 drove the faith underground. Of this the Dominicans bore their full share; and Father Wilberforce describes vividly the chief circumstances of their sufferings.

The great defect of the book is its indistinct chronology. A brief list of the leading dates would be a great help towards realising the movement of events. The dates given, indeed, are not always self-consistent. In the text (p. 154) we are told that the last Dominican martyrs perished in September 1636. In the appendix the date is put down as 1637. The title of "king" for the dependent princes or great nobles, though no doubt they had large freedom and powers, seems misleading. On p. 156, Phimabara should be Shimabara.

R. B.

Catholic Truth Society Publications.

"Three Converts." A suggestion made, if we mistake not, in these columns that the C. T. S. would do well to reproduce in uniform issues many of the narratives of conversions to the Church which have been issued in such numbers during the past sixty or seventy years has been in part adopted, and in this first instalment (as we hope it may prove) of such a series we have in handy form the account of the motives which led the Rev. John Thayer, an American Congregationalist; Miss Anne Trail, a Scotch Presbyterian; and Mrs. Mary Howitt, an English Quakeress, into the one fold. We owe the first to Father Bridgett, L.S.S.R.; the second possesses the greater attraction of being autobiographical; the third and shortest of the pamphlets is by Mr. James Britten: all three are full of the deepest interest and should prove helpful to inquiring souls. That three such remarkable characters, with scarcely a religious idea in common, should have found rest and satisfaction in the Catholic Church, is surely one of the most striking or the minor phenomena which attest the Divinity of the religion for which they sacrificed so much.

"Wayside Tales." By Lady Herbert. Third Series. Lady Herbert's short stories are capital reading, and, besides being full of instruction, ought to tend to broaden out the sympathies of the young in whose behalf we presume they are principally intended. They deal with all manner of people and places; "The Friar's Story" gives a charming picture of peasant life in the Italian midlands; "A Tale of the Secret Societies" deals with one of the curses of modern life in the same fair country; "A Polish Peasant" tells us of the marvellous origin and development of a very remarkable sanctuary in Russian Poland: our only regret is that Lady Herbert has not thought it necessary to

mention the name of the spot so singularly favoured. Her reticence is the less explicable as in another tale, "Our Lady of Philippsdorf," no such reserve has been attempted. One or two details in this story of a modern German shrine make us envious. When Mary Magdalene Kade, the poor girl whom Our Lady, Health of the Sick, so graciously visited, received her cure, and the favour was made known to the crowded household, lodgers, working people and all, they all joined in the *Magnificat* and *Te Deum* in thanksgiving for so signal a favour. Would such a thing be likely to occur at home? How many even of our well-to-do Catholics know those beautiful prayers and canticles by heart?

Other tales in this volume are drawn from the vast and remarkable experiences of one whose name is widely known and honoured, Monsignor Nugent, the "Pater Pauperum" of the great city on the Mersey.

G. D.

Retreat Conferences for Convents. By Rev. CHAS. COX, O.M.I.
London: Washbourne. 1898.

THE impression left on our mind after reading this book is that it would please a Superioress of the stamp of Mother Margaret Hallahan. It will win its author many friends among the "English-speaking religious who . . . labour with much devotedness in many lands," to whom it "is respectfully dedicated." Father Cox's discourses have about them the ring of genuine sympathy and reverence for his hearers. An earnest and sensible book like this should be very useful to girls who have reason to believe that they are called to the religious life.

Outlines of Jewish History from Abraham to our Lord.
By the Rev. FRANCIS E. GIGOT, S.S., Professor of Sacred Scripture in St. John's Seminary, Boston, Mass. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Bros. 1897. Pp. 384.

TO the biblical student a thorough knowledge of Jewish history is of supreme importance. Its value from the point of view of exegesis could scarcely be surpassed. Without this knowledge numerous passages of sacred Scripture must appear not only obscure but even absolutely unintelligible. With this knowledge the difficulties will often disappear. Its value is almost equally high from the point of view of apologetics. There is hardly a book of the Old

Testament which has not been assailed on historical grounds. Objections like these can be met only by solid historical knowledge. We cannot say, with truth, of the book which lies before us that it will be of conspicuous service to either exegesis or apologetics. But it is nevertheless a step in the right direction. It is a book which few Catholics could read without acquiring much valuable information; for Catholics, as a rule, are far less instructed in biblical history than they ought to be, and we have much pleasure in recommending it.

Canonical Procedure in Disciplinary and Criminal Cases of Clerics. A Systematic Commentary on the "Instructio S.C. Epp. et Reg.," 1880. By the Rev. FRANCIS DROSTE. Edited by the Rev. SEBASTIAN G. MESSMER, D.D., Professor of Theology. Second Edition. New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1897. Pp. 268.

IN 1880 the S. Congregation of Bishops and Regulars sent to the Bishops of Italy an Instruction on the summary procedure in disciplinary and criminal cases of clerics. In 1884 the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, complying with the request of the S.C. de Prop. Fide, adopted, with a few slight modifications, this Instruction. In the meantime Fr. Droste, a priest of the diocese of Paderborn, had written a short simple commentary on the new procedure. After the acceptance of the Instruction by the Council of Baltimore, Fr. Droste's commentary was translated into English by a priest of the diocese of Covington. This translation, however, needed a careful editing in view of the modifications introduced into the Instruction by the Baltimore Council. The task of editing was entrusted to Fr. Messmer, and he, besides making the necessary adaptations, has rearranged the materials of the commentary so as to present them in a more logical light, added explanatory notes where the commentary assumed a large acquaintance with canon law, and inserted paragraphs of new matter wherever this seemed to be necessary or useful. As the Instruction is likely to be soon of force in all English-speaking missionary countries, the value of the commentary, as it now stands, is apparent. There is much that we should like to quote from this extremely useful work, but we must content ourselves with citing some of the exceptions to the suspensive effect of appeals, as enumerated in the Bull *Ad Militantis* of Benedict XIV., which, as the Instruction of 1880 declares, is binding and in force to this day. According, then, to the Bull of Pope Benedict XIV., an appeal has no suspensive effect

(that is to say, does not suspend the sentence passed by the lower court) with respect to the following amongst other matters: "The holy sacrifice of the mass, the sacraments, preaching and Christian doctrine, the care of souls, divine worship, and public devotions, &c." But we have no doubt that many of our readers will procure this excellent treatise, and study it for themselves.

Sermons and Moral Discourses for all the Sundays of the Year on the Important Truths of the Gospel. Vol. I. Sermons for the Holy Days and Feasts of Our Lord, the Blessed Virgin, and the Saints, with Discourse for particular devotions, and a Short Retreat for a Young Men's Sociality. Vol. II. Edited and in part written by Rev. FRANCIS X. MCGOWAN, O.S.A. New York and Cincinnati: Fr. Pustet & Co. Pp. 1275.

THE compiler of these two volumes states that his "whole ambition has been to put in clear and plain language the thoughts of writers who have been distinguished as pulpit orators, and as zealous expounders of our holy Faith." A little later he restates the task he has undertaken as follows: "We have gathered posies from other men's flowers. Nothing but the thread which binds them is ours." There can be no doubt that two volumes of sermons composed by a judicious binding together of the best thoughts of the most eminent preachers would be at once a most popular and a most useful work. But the question is whether the two volumes before us are volumes which answer to that description. We are bound to say that we think they do not. To use the language of the compiler, we fail to discover the "flowers," and we have no great opinion of the "thread." Such of the sermons as we have read appear to us to be somewhat thin and wordy. But we have no wish to say that the volumes may not have a certain usefulness. Priests whose duties oblige them to preach Sunday after Sunday, and have no time to think a sermon out for themselves, cannot afford to be fastidious. Sermons of no higher character than those edited by Fr. McGowan have sold well before now. It is possible that these discourses may have an equally large sale. We trust that they may, and that they may work much good. But we are unable to strongly recommend them.

The Eucharistic Christ. By Rev. A. TESNIERE, priest of the Congregation of the Blessed Sacrament. Translated by Mrs. ANNE R. BENNETT GLADSTONE. With a Preface by Rev. D. J. McMAHON, D.D. New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1897. Pp. 187.

THE writer of this work is a priest of the Congregation of the Blessed Sacrament, which was founded not many years ago by Fr. Eymard. The aim of this Society, as its name sufficiently indicates, is to increase devotion to the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar. That he might have some especial share in this great work was the motive which led our author to compose this little book, which is, as might be expected, devotional rather than instructive. We cannot say that the "Eucharistic Christ" is a work of exceptional excellence. But it is not without its merit. It is not only a book on devotion, but it is also most devotionally written, and many may be attracted by the fervour and simplicity which characterise it. Whether Mrs. Bennett Gladstone's translation is a faithful one or not, we have no means of discovering. But the English certainly reads well.

Illustrated Explanation of the Prayers and Ceremonies of the Mass. By Rev. D. LANSLOTS, O.S.B. With a Preface by Most Rev. F. JANSSENS, D.D., Archbishop of New Orleans. New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1897. Pp. 327.

THIS does not pretend to be a learned work. It aims at giving nothing more than a simple, popular exposition of the prayers and rites used in the Mass. It is delightfully free from controversy, and it meets a distinct need. It is certainly not a little wonderful that the faithful should gladly go to Mass, Sunday after Sunday, and should yet be content to remain uninstructed with regard to the symbolical meaning of the ceremonies which they so frequently and so reverently witness. But is it that they are content to remain uninstructed? May it not be that instruction has never been placed in their way? In any case, there can be no doubt that instruction on this important matter must tend, as Archbishop Janssens points out in his preface, to an increase of devotion amongst the faithful. It is with the view to conveying this instruction in a manner suited to the capacity of the simple faithful that this useful book has been written.

Solid Virtue. By Rev. Father BELLECIUS, S.J. Translated from the French by a member of the Ursuline Community, Thurles. With a preface by his Grace the Most Rev. Dr. CROKE, Archbishop of Cashel and Emly. Fifth Edition. London: R. Washbourne, 18 Paternoster Row. New York, Cincinnati and Chicago: Benziger Bros. 1898. Pp. 624.

THIS work not only treats of solid virtue, but further treats of it in an eminently solid way. The matter is almost always good, is well ordered, and set forth with conciseness and precision. The book is divided into three parts. The first part deals with the chief obstacles to the acquisition of solid virtue. Under this head our author treats of venial sin, tepidity, abuse of grace, the predominant passion, human respect, &c. In the second part the principal means of attaining to solid virtue are discussed—viz., the aim at perfection in ordinary actions; fervour in meditation; interior recollection, holy communion, and the particular examination. The third part sets forth the motives which ought to induce us to strive after solid virtue—viz., the excellence of virtue in itself as known to us by faith; the fear of the evils which must befall us if we neglect the pursuit of virtue; the hope of the goods which will accrue to us from the practice of solid virtue, &c. In every case a short but complete treatise on the subject is presented, and each treatise is divided into a series of articles. Thus under the head venial sin, we find the following articles: (1) the malice of venial sin considered in itself; (2) the malice of venial sin considered in its effects; (3) the malice of venial sin considered with reference to the punishment it entails; (4) on the hatred we should entertain for venial sin, and the care with which we should avoid it. From the excellent preface contributed by Archbishop Croke we learn that the present is the first English translation of the famous work of Bellecus. "Solid Virtue" has long been a favourite with the clergy. From the fact that this English translation is now in its fifth edition, it would seem that it is fast becoming a favourite with the laity.

The Christ of History and of Experience, being the Kerr Lectures for 1897. By Rev. DAVID W. FORREST, M.A., Wellington Church, Glasgow. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. 1897.

THAT this is the work of a devout and reverential man we can readily believe. But the writer, studying our Lord, as he does, from what he individually believes to be the standpoint of the

Gospels, arrives at conclusions which are often unsatisfactory. On matters of the gravest moment our author writes with what appears to us to be a most uncertain pen. There are passages in his book in which he seems to repudiate the Kenotic theory, as maintained by modern writers. There are other passages again in which he sets forth the advantages of the Kenotic theory, and compares that theory with the ancient and conciliar teaching to the disadvantage of the latter. On the other hand, we find no important point connected with the life and work of our Lord that is brought out in this work in a really impressive or useful manner. We fear that we cannot recommend these lectures to our readers.

Homiletic Lectures on Preaching. By THEODOR CHRISTLIEB, D.D.

Translated by Rev. C. H. IRWIN, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street, 1897. Pp. 390.

THIS is a somewhat learned, but, on the whole, rather unpractical work, disfigured here and there by quite uncalled for attacks on the Catholic methods of preaching. The titles of the chapters into which the book is divided, the meaning and nature, scope and aim of preaching, personal requisites for preaching, material and contents of the sermon, rhetorical form and delivery of the sermon, give promise indeed of useful matters. But we regret to say that, in our opinion, the promise is not at all borne out. It is only when we come to the section which treats of the delivery of the sermon that we meet with anything like practical usefulness. And what is said here has been equally well said so many times before, that we should not be instructing our readers were we to place extracts from this section before them.

Petri Cardinalis Pazmany: Archiepiscopi Strigoniensis et Primatis Regni Hungariae Tractatus in libros Aristotelis De Cælo, De Generatione et Corruptione, atque in libros Meteororum, quos e codice propria auctoris manu scripto et in Bibliotheca Universitatis Budapestinensis asservato recensuit Stephanus Bognár, Ecclesiae M. Varadinensis Lat. Rit. Canonicus, &c. &c. Budapestini: Typis Regiae Scientiarum Universitatis. 1897. Pp. 556.

THIS volume traverses the ground which was covered by Aristotle in his four books "De Cælo," his two books "De Generatione et Corruptione," and in his four books "Meteororum." For the

most part the arrangement of Aristotle is followed. To this rule, however, there are certain exceptions. Thus the questions on metals and stones are omitted as capable of a more suitable treatment elsewhere. The questions on the elements raised by Aristotle in the third and fourth books "*De Cælo*," are discussed by Cardinal Pázmány in his treatise "*De Generatione*." It is clear to our readers that the discussions of the learned Cardinal must, in many cases at least, be considered as possessing an historical rather than a scientific value. His reasoning is as cogent as could well be, but his premises are often unsound. Physical science has moved onwards since the time when he wrote, and what was then generally accepted is now, with sufficient reason, generally denied. But, if the present day cannot take its science from the Cardinal, it can at least learn from him the spirit of moderation. More than once in the course of this work he insists upon the imperfect character of his scientific attainments. He declares that he is not free to dogmatise, but must content himself with that "moderate probability" which alone is possible from the very nature of the subject. But though Pázmány, like the students of the time in which he lived, was faulty in his science, he was unquestionably a man of the most exalted genius, fitted for grappling successfully with the most difficult problems, were only suitable materials at hand for their solution. We congratulate Canon Bognar on the care and skill with which he has performed his task as editor. We may also congratulate the publisher and the printer on the excellence of the type and paper.

Manuale Precum in usum Theologorum cum Approbatione.

Rev. Vic. Cap. Friburgensis. Editio altera. Friburgi Brisgoviae: Sumptibus Herder, Typographi Editoris Pontificii. 1897. Pp. 552.

WE have read some commendatory notices of the *Manuale*, and, so far as the inspection we have made of the book permits us to judge, the commendations are deserved. In addition to daily prayers and much else, the *Manuale* contains forty-five meditations. Why this particular number of meditations should have been chosen is not at all clear. It is more than one for every day in the month. It is less than one for every week in the year. We regret that the number is not larger, for the meditations though short are pithy and extremely good. Like most works of the kind, the *Manuale* contains a description of the ceremonies of the mass, as well as of the various ordination services. But why does a book like this, which with its

daily prayers is evidently intended for daily use, appear unbound? It may, of course, be said that its appearance in paper leaves the purchaser free to choose the style of binding which he prefers. But, if this argument be sound, then all books should appear in paper covers. And who would venture to assert that?

The Life of St. John of the Cross. By a Religious of St. Mary's Convent, York. London: R. Washbourne, 18 Paternoster Row. New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1897. Pp. 64.

THOSE that have some knowledge of the devotional treatises of St. John of the Cross, but are unacquainted with the saint's personal history, will, no doubt, be glad to learn the many particulars of St. John's life, which the writer of this little book has succeeded in crowding into the sixty-four tiny pages which the booklet comprises.

The Last Things. By JOSEPH AGAR BEET, D.D. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 27 Paternoster Row. 1897. Pp. 318.

THE larger and more important portion of this book is devoted to the consideration of the future punishment of sin. Upon this point Dr. Beet states and discusses four theories: (1) The endless torment of the lost; (2) the final salvation of all men; (3) the ultimate extinction of the lost; (4) probation after death. The first mentioned theory, according to Dr. Beet, has been the prevalent teaching of the Christian Church from the latter part of the second century till recent times. Against this theory he urges (*a*) that "we do not find throughout the whole Bible any clear assertion of the endless suffering of the lost," and (*b*) that the doctrine of endless punishment is opposed to the "moral sense of man which is the voice of God in man." The second theory is rejected by Dr. Beet on the ground that it is opposed to the teaching of Christ and the Apostle, for although the Bible does not, in the opinion of Dr. Beet, teach the doctrine of endless punishment, it does teach that some are finally excluded from salvation. The third theory, though "not explicitly contradicted by the Bible" is, nevertheless, "destitute of any solid support in the Bible." The fourth theory Dr. Beet regards as a not particularly helpful one. It is very doubtful whether or not it be true. If, on the one hand, "there is little or nothing in the Bible to

contradict" this theory; on the other, "of probation after death we have no hint in the entire Bible." But even if this theory be true, the difficulties concerning the future life remain unsolved. For, in the future probation, some would probably fail; and what of them? To sum up. In Dr. Beet's opinion, while none of these theories has any solid foundation in the Bible, the second of them is the only one which contradicts the plain teaching of the Bible. The first theory needlessly raises most serious difficulties. These difficulties are not met by the fourth theory, but they are at least avoided by the third. Accordingly, to the third theory Dr. Beet would seem to extend his patronage. But the whole question, in the opinion of Dr. Beet, remains and ever must remain in uncertainty. If this book be not a confession that the Bible is not the sole rule of faith, it reads at least like a confession that the Bible is an imperfect rule of faith.

St. Paul's Conception of Christ. The Sixteenth Series of the Cunningham Lectures. By DAVID SOMERVILLE, M.A., Minister of Roseburn Free Church, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38, George Street, 1897. Pp. 330.

THIS work is yet one more of the many attempts which have, with such varying and contradictory results, been recently made "to recover and present anew to the faith of the Church the New Testament picture of our Lord." When we learn that the author acknowledges "special obligations" to Albrecht Ritschl, a writer who held that the predicate of Godhead, as applied to Christ, is exhausted when we recognise our Lord as the Revealer of God and the archetype of spiritual sovereignty over the world, we know at once that Mr. Somerville's guidance is an insecure one. Mr. Somerville is himself far from accepting this opinion of his master, which he very justly characterises as "extreme"; but there are, nevertheless, many passages in his work which a Catholic must regard with disfavour. Our author does indeed make slighting references to the Catholic Church, as when he writes:

There is nothing in Paul of that prying curiosity into the secret administration of providence which we find in Jewish literature, and which revelled in speculations about the ranks and orders of angels. The Romish Church has served itself heir to the fantastic imaginations of Jewish theology on this subject. But Paul had too much practical good sense to trouble himself much about these matters (p. 301).

But it is not so much of passages like these that we complain. The

fault that we chiefly find in our author is his entire want of respect for authority which must inevitably lead, as it has done in the case of so many, to a rationalistic interpretation of the Scriptures. Mr. Somerville has little respect for the early councils. He charges them with want of logic and with contradicting each other. And he makes the charge in a passage which is itself illogical and self-contradictory, as our readers may easily discover for themselves if they read the text of p. 22, with the appended note. "St. Paul's Conception of Christ" is not, in our opinion, a useful book.

For a King. An Historical Romance. By T. S. SHARWOOD. New Edition. London: Burns & Oates.

A ROMANCE produced by a firm of Catholic publishers is always suspected, by the ordinary British reader, of having been written with a purpose, and that purpose "proselytism." Partly for this reason, and partly because the number of novel-reading Catholics in England is comparatively small, such a romance as that which we are noticing rarely has a large circulation. The best tribute, therefore, to its popularity is that it should re-appear in a second edition, as this has done.

In issuing a new edition, however, we think it a mistake to print a book as if for two volumes if it is intended to be bound in one. But possibly in this case, success may have been considered so assured as to justify the stereotyping of the work in the first instance, which would account for the paging.

This story deals with one of the most interesting periods of English history, the civil war in the reign of Charles I. The author has considerable powers of description and brings the scenes vividly before the imagination of the reader. For the most part, too, the historical characters—the King, the Queen, Lord Digby, Hotham, Prince Rupert, Prince Maurice, Falkland, Hyde, and others are truthfully drawn. As a romance again, and quite apart from its historical value, the work is excellent, and the story holds the attention of the reader throughout the book; although perhaps a mere novel-reader might object that the author has yielded a little too much to the temptation to dwell unduly on historical and local details. What authority the author may have for marrying George, Lord Digby, afterwards second Earl of Bristol, to any other wife besides Anne, daughter of Francis, Earl of Bedford, we do not pretend to know. It may be unquestionable, but, if otherwise, we may just observe that

historical characters might be married very many times, if every novelist who chose to introduce them into a story were to give them a fresh imaginary wife. Be that as it may, "For a King" is a charming book.

Lettres à ma Cousine. GABRIEL AUBRAY. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1897.

MANY Frenchmen have been kind enough to point out in humorous tones the weaknesses of the English. In this entertaining book, on the contrary, a Frenchman endeavours to amuse his fellow-countrymen with ridicule of their own faults and failings. There is nothing that the French dislike more than to be laughed at; and this is exactly what they will have to endure if they read this little work of their compatriot. He chaffs them about their duelling—their duels in silk hats and varnished boots, in which shots are courteously exchanged without any serious intention of mischief, their hypnotism, their spiritism, their hysterical benevolence, their theatrical enthusiasm, and their ineradicable egotism. Their heroes, he tells them, are of the kind that like to get themselves photographed. Their artists hate what is lovely and enjoyable in life, and revel in things horrible and things nasty.

These and other accusations may be welcomed from a brother when they would not be tolerated from a mere friend; and certainly the French would be very irate if an Englishman was to say what M. Aubray has said of their politics. He makes great fun of their enthusiastic reception of the Czar. Given the same display, they would have been equally pleased if it had been in honour of the Queen of England or the Sultan of Turkey. The author does not deny the present craze of the French for Russia; but he seems to look upon it as a fashion of the moment, and to think that in their Oriental policy, while they are not altogether with Russia, and less still with Germany, they are quite against England. Yet he doubts whether they would not rather make terms with England than march against her beside her other enemies. In the face of a grave European question, his country—indifferent, undecided, and divided—does not really know who is her friend, nor has she made up her mind for what she would be prepared to go to war.

Then as to Germany, Frenchmen used to talk much about their coming "revanche." A whole generation, says M. Aubray, has passed away without their attempting it, and less and less is heard about it in conversation. A sad and sentimental pity for Alsace and Lorraine is

rapidly taking the place of the spirit of awful vengeance against Germany which boiled so fiercely as to evaporate entirely in steam.

The French, he notices, are even beginning to say that, after all, the Germans do not really dislike them, and that the best thing to do will be to make common cause with Germans and Russians against their own traditional enemy—perfidious Albion. France has lost her supremacy over the land; let her smash up England, gain supremacy over the ocean, and cut and carve for herself great empires beyond the seas. The thing would be very simple. Or shall she be England's friend? In short, poor France does not know what she wants.

On no point is the author more severe or more sarcastic towards Parisians than on that of their religion, or rather their want of it. He describes, in anything but complimentary terms, the Holy Week and Easter of the ordinary workman and the man of fashion, and he tells his cousin, to whom his letters are addressed, what goes on in Paris on the first of May while she is going to the church with armful of hawthorns and a large bouquet of white lilac.

This is a book affording food for reflection as well as for laughter. Much of it, moreover, has a tendency to make an Englishman look at home. While he smiles at a Frenchman's exposure of the follies of the French, he may profitably ask himself whether he and his are not at least equally open to a good deal of the ridicule?

Principles of Political Economy. By J. SHIELD NICHOLSON, M.A., D.Sc. Vol. I. (published 1893) xiii. 450. Vol. II. (published 1897) xiii. 328. Adam & Chas. Black, London.

THE first volume of this most interesting work was put into our hands for review some four years ago. Wishing to deal with it as a whole we intended to await its completion; but the "severe and protracted illness" of the author has resulted in such delay that the work is still unfinished, so we feel that we must hesitate no longer to give at least some notice of the two volumes that lie before us.

The first volume, to which there is an introduction of eighteen pages, is divided into two parts; Book I. dealing with Production, and Book II. with Distribution. The whole of the second volume is taken up with the question of exchange, and is full of useful information, comments, and explanations concerning such matters as exchange value, markets, supply and demand, wages and profits, the functions of money, and the various theories of money, bi-metallism, banks, rates of interest, trade, chartered companies, and so forth.

Though the work is put together in a most business-like manner, it is by no means dry or dull. Indeed, the gifted author does not hesitate to brighten his disquisitions and to lighten his pages with many a reference to present and past events, and often shows a liberality of spirit in apportioning praise which does him infinite credit.

Listen, for instance, to his judgment of the Catholic Church in the days of her so-called "darkness":

Many organisations in the past certainly did not fail for want of nobility of aim, and the church, in the mediæval period, tried to enforce many of the doctrines which it is the aim of the Socialists of our day to establish. Especially, as already shown, did the church insist on the dignity, the moral discipline, and the real worth of labour. It refused to allow interest in any shape or form—it taught that time as such, and dead capital as such, had no claim to reward. The church, actuated by the same lofty conception, struck also at every form of speculation, it aimed at fixing the just price of goods, and at preventing the middleman from reaping where he had not sown. It struck, too, at the extravagance of the rich, and by its agencies immense sums were spent upon the education of children and relieving the necessities of the poor. The mediæval church has never received the due reward of praise for its nobleness of purpose; the evil done has lingered in the memory, but the good has been forgotten. There can, however, be no doubt that for genuine enthusiasm for humanity, it would be difficult to find the equals of the original founders of the great orders of monks and friars. The heart of the world has recently been stirred by the record of the life of Father Damien; but we forget that in the Middle Ages every town in England had its lepers, and that one of the greatest orders of friars—the Franciscan—was especially founded to succour and soothe these miserable outcasts. There is no finer picture in history than the description of the way in which a cultured man, in the fulness of health and youth, ate from the same plate, and shared in every detail the horrible life of the meanest lepers. Most emphatically it was not in nobility of aim that the Christian Socialism of the Middle Ages failed, and our modern religion of humanity will have to acquire warmer feelings and wider views before it can hope to arouse in its disciples any resemblance to mediæval enthusiasm (pp. 429-430, vol. i.).

The work is still in an unfinished state, but we hope before long to receive the remaining volumes, and then to give a more general survey of the whole ground gone over.

Recent Publications of the C.T.S.

"To Calvary through the Mass" is the title of a devotional and instructive work by Father Eric Leslie, S.J. His main thought is the idea of sacrifice, and he follows Cardinal Franzelin in the view that the act whereby our Lord offers Himself in the Mass is one and the same act as that by which He offered Himself on the Cross. The

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lectures are the outcome of familiar discourses delivered at Huntly and Glasgow nearly thirty years ago; and in their pleasant chattiness will now be welcomed by a larger public.

Of a different character is the Rev. James Bellord's "Eucharistic Month of Holy Scripture," a work already familiar in the Latin original. For daily preparation for mass or communion it will be found helpful and suggestive.

"Under the Red King," by C. M. Home. This story of the times of St. Anselm will doubtless find interested readers among the young, to whom its pictures of knights and ladies, of fighting and courtship in a picturesque past should prove acceptable.

"Carmen's Secret," by the Baroness Pauline von Hügel, is a tale of to-day, and a very good tale too. Slight though it is, its interest is considerable, and its picture of the heroine's hidden supernatural heroism is exceedingly well drawn. A bright healthy tone, and an absence of any morbid sentimentality, should recommend it to our convent schools and Catholic homes.

The fourth series of Lady Herbert's "Wayside Tales" is as good as its predecessors, and opens to us many glimpses, some bright, some sombre, of the Church's life at home and abroad. The sketch of the Abbé Cestac's great home and convent of Our Lady of Refuge near Biarritz is particularly charming; and of equal interest is the account of Father Kenelm Vaughan's discovery of the relics of the Jesuit martyr, Blessed Julian de Lizardi. The tales of the very real persecution which the Catholics of Russia are enduring should serve to awaken our sympathy and excite our prayers for those whose condition is in many ways so like that from which we have ourselves been delivered within the last century.

Of the minor publications of the Catholic Truth Society we notice "St. Augustine's Manual: a Little Book of the Contemplation of Christ," which we trust is not the last of the devotional *opuscula* of the Fathers which we shall receive at its hands; two prettily illustrated meditations ("The Shepherds" and "The Kings") by the late Mother Francis Raphael, O.S.D.; an account by E. F. Bowden of "The Devotion to the Infant Jesus of Prague;" a short life of St. Edmund, king and martyr, by J. Arthur Floyd, who unhesitatingly accepts the story of the translation of the saint's relics to St. Nernin's at Toulouse; a magic lantern lecture on St. Francis of Assisi, wherein Subiaco appears as Subasio in the account of the contemporary portrait of the saint at that celebrated sanctuary; and another lantern lecture with which we feel inclined to quarrel for giving us so much about palaces and picture galleries in place of more about the spots and shrines sanctified in Catholic eyes by their sacred associations.

Mr. Kegan Paul's "Confessio Viatoris," and papers dealing with the Nonconformist position and teaching by the Bishop of Clifton and Father Bampfield ("Catholics and Nonconformists," I. and II., and "Deacon Douglas"), will appeal to different classes of readers, and help on the good cause which the Society was established to promote.

Une Sœur Du Grand Frédéric, Louise-Ulrique, Reine de Suède.
Par O.-G. DE HEIDENSTAM. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie.
1897.

THE great Parisian publishers, MM. Plon, Nourrit et Cie., have rendered inestimable service to students of European history by the series of biographies bearing on that subject, which they have produced during the last few years. Sweden is not the country whose history is most commonly known to the world at large, and not the least recommendation of "Une Sœur Du Grand Frédéric" is that much may be learned from it of Swedish politics during the greater part of the seventeenth century. The domestic history includes two *coups d'état*, one a failure, one a success, and both, the work of the monarchical party; while the foreign history explains the position of Sweden in the various European complications of the period, more especially in its relations to Russia, Prussia, and France.

The life of Louise-Ulrique, born in 1720 and dying in 1782, may be said to have lain between those two highly important episodes in European history, the victories of Peter the Great and the French Revolution; and her own days were only too replete with political incident, in which she herself played no small part. Sister to Frederick the Great, she had, says her biographer, her brother's proud and haughty egotism, powerful will, contempt of scruples, and perfect indifference to the feelings of others; but she lacked his foresight, breadth of mind, and genius for politics. Beautiful and graceful, intellectual and lively, she had a charm of manner which none whom she wished to please could resist; yet so proud, autocratic, jealous and exacting was her disposition that, after living for thirty-eight years in Sweden, and twenty as its queen, she died in that country almost without a friend.

In Adolphus Frederick she married an amiable, if somewhat weak husband. Throughout that king's reign the Swedish monarchy was the most powerless and nominal in Europe; in her son's, which succeeded it, the King of Sweden became one of the most despotic of

sovereigns. During her husband's lifetime she advocated the monarchical principle in opposition to that of constitutional government with miserable and mortifying failure; when the success of her principles was attained by her son, her quarrels with him brought to her even greater mortification and misery. If many people consider the meddling of a woman in politics objectionable, few, if any, would deny that the muddling of politics by a woman is to be deprecated, and this we fear is what politics suffered at the hands of this Queen of Sweden.

Not the least among the troubles of Louise-Ulrique was want of money, and towards the end of her life, partly for this reason, she lived in almost absolute retirement. Her splendid collection of works of art, her jewels and other property, had gone to pay her prodigious debts. Fond as she had been of society, splendour and power, she seems to have been almost happier in her final poverty and seclusion. Content among her books and her flowers at her country chateau, she declared that she had left her miseries at Stockholm, and her *ennui* at the palace of Fredriksof. On her death-bed she was in some sort reconciled to her son; but, when told that he had come to see her, she said: "He is not sincere. He has no doubt come only to see whether it is true that I am dying." Her death was caused by an epidemic, unknown in Sweden until 1782, and there named "Russian Fever." This was "la grippe," of which we have had such lamentable experiences of late years, under the title of influenza.

Perhaps the best use which Louise-Ulrique made of her position and influence was her encouragement of art, science, and literature; and to the latter her own life, which it has been our pleasure to read and to review, is certainly a valuable contribution.

The Authoress of the "Odyssey." By SAMUEL BUTLER. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1897.

WE read in Roman history of a certain king of Armenia who, seeing a few thousand Roman soldiers approach his capital, was at a loss to account for their appearance, remarking that they were too many for an embassy and too few for an army. Similarly we may say of this book by Mr. Butler, with the somewhat aggressive title, that it is too long and elaborate for a joke, and yet made of too flimsy materials for a serious contribution to Homeric study. It is clear, however, from a perusal that Mr. Butler is perfectly serious, while we must do him the justice to say that he is often amusing and

never dull. He claims to have established (1) that the "Odyssey" is entirely the work of a woman; (2) that this woman represents herself under the character of Nausicaa; and (3) that the poem was composed at Trapani, in the west of Sicily. This is by no means the first time that Mr. Butler has put forward these views. For some years past he has at intervals lectured and published pamphlets on the subject both in English and Italian, and he appears to have a local *clientèle* at Trapani who are devoted to him. We may assume, however, that the present volume contains and completes all that he has said before, and presents his theories in the form most acceptable to himself.

Mr. Butler is much exercised in mind because Homeric scholars have not hitherto replied to his arguments. They have, in short, with trifling exceptions, taken no notice of them, and this he attributes to a conspiracy of silence. They are, it seems, so wedded to the popular tradition, one may also say have such a vested interest in it, that they have come to love darkness rather than light. One chief cause of their obstinacy and blindness is, we are told, to be found in the persistent belief that the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey" were the work of the same person. Even the Alexandrian scholars had their *Chōrizontes* (separators), who maintained the separate authorship of the poems, and yet we who have been shown the better way absolutely refuse to follow it! However Mr. Butler here makes a serious mistake. As a Homeric scholar himself he must be aware, one would think, that the current opinion among scholars, certainly for the last fifty years, decidedly inclines towards a belief in the separate authorship, which, indeed, is indicated in no uncertain manner by various points of comparison between the two poems—points familiar to most Greek students, which we need not here enter upon. We think that Mr. Butler is unreasonable in taking this view of the attitude of Homeric scholars towards himself. It is not necessary to suppose that they have any hostility towards him, and the apparent neglect with which his theories have been received is simply due to his having failed to produce sufficient evidence to require an answer. Most Homeric scholars would be only too pleased to get hold of something new and yet true, or even plausible, but they are only human, they have no more years to waste than other people, and they must be excused if they decline to spend valuable time in investigations that do not seem likely to be fruitful of results.

Mr. Butler naturally thinks that he has already established a *prima facie* case, or rather that Bentley did so when he wrote that "the 'Iliad' was written for men, and the 'Odyssey' for women," which is fairly enough taken by Mr. Butler to mean "that in the 'Odyssey'

things were looked at from a woman's point of view rather than a man's." The dictum of any one scholar, however eminent, can hardly, in a matter like this, avail to establish a *primâ facie* case, and in itself it is very questionable. Certainly the examples brought forward from the "Odyssey" by Mr. Butler go very little way towards showing female authorship. Mere subjective criticism, which appeals differently to different minds, is rarely satisfactory to any one but the author of it. For instance, we are told that throughout the poem the female element is predominant, that every man is made ridiculous or stupid, that Ulysses is middle-aged, bald-headed, unromantic, and so on. Again, "Calypso's jealousy of Penelope is too prettily done for a man—a man would be sure to overdo it"; that the object of the writer was to "whitewash" Penelope, who was in reality far from immaculate. One other point may be here mentioned. Mr. Butler informs us that the order in which the crowd of ghosts approaches Ulysses in the under-world is indicative of female authorship. Why? Because we have first brides, then young bachelors, then old men worn out with toil, &c.

I do not think a male writer would have put the brides first, nor yet the young bachelors second. He would have begun with kings, or great warriors or poets, nor do I believe he would make Ulysses turn pale with fear merely because the ghosts screamed a little; they would have had to menace him more seriously.

Well, but we answer Virgil does the same. He also puts women first under the same circumstances, *Matres atque viri, defunctaque corpora vita Magnanimum heroum*, &c. Mr. Butler is ready for us, however. "The women indeed come first, but the first *i* in *viri* being short Virgil could not help himself." Poor Virgil! what an incompetent versifier he must have been after all! He wished to put men first, but could not, because the line wouldn't scan! Even a *décadent* of the nineteenth century can lend a helping hand here. If men must come first why not write *Ecce viri matresque exhaustaque corpora vitæ*—not quite so good perhaps as the original, but it will do for a poet in a fix. Mr. Butler, however, should have the courage of his opinions. The legitimate inference from these lines is not that Virgil could not write hexameters, but that the "*Æneid*" as well as the "Odyssey" was written by a woman. When we add to this that Aeneas frequently weeps copiously, and cuts such a pitiful figure before Dido, the case is almost certain—as certain as that Bacon wrote Shakespeare. The "Argonautica" of Apollonius Rhodius, again, is a poem in which the female interest is obtrusively predominant. Where would Jason be without Medea? She thinks for

him, she contrives everything, she tells him exactly how to perform all his tasks, and then he nearly lets her be given back to her angry father. It is a clear case of female authorship. On the other hand, the "authoress" of the "Odyssey" has a remarkable knowledge of shipbuilding. Mr. Butler has not mentioned this, but probably a brother (she would not condescend to have a lover) coached her up for the occasion. And it is to trivialities like this that Mr. Butler requires us to succumb! What we want is some external evidence, however slight. But Mr. Butler frankly admits that there is not the ghost of a tradition on his side. Until this difficulty is surmounted we fear we must say he has not even made out a case requiring serious reply. When this point is put to him he makes the following strange remark, and with this we conclude this part of the subject:

I am often asked how I explain the fact that we find no trace in ancient authors of any tradition to the effect that the "Odyssey" was written at Drepanum, or that the writer was a woman. This difficulty is laid before me as one that is almost fatal. I confess, however, that I find it small in comparison with that of explaining how both these facts should have failed of being long since rediscovered.

Gentlemen of the jury, the prisoner is guilty, I swear it. Only look at him! It is true there is no evidence against him, but that difficulty is small in comparison with that of explaining how his guilt should have been so long concealed.

Mr. Butler's next point is that the authoress appears as Nausicaa, the daughter of King Alcinoüs. Here, again, we find ourselves *in vacuo*. We may grant, however, that if a woman was the writer, it may as well have been this lady as any one else. Certainly the portrait which Mr. Butler gives at the frontispiece is charming enough to have been Nausicaa.

The third point is that the "Odyssey" was written at Trapani in Sicily, the ancient Drepanum, and that the local scenery here is described in the descriptions both of Ithaca and Scheria (the land of the Phaeacians). To make this good Mr. Butler is obliged to be a little more definite. He informs us therefore that by the aid of maps and charts he has ascertained that the neighbourhood of Trapani alone provides the configuration of sea and land that suits the geographical descriptions in the "Odyssey," and that the voyage of Ulysses was merely a voyage round Sicily. Further, that Drepanum was colonised by Greeks from Phocaea, to prove which he refers us to Thucydides. The obvious answer to this is that Phocaea was not in existence at the time when the "Odyssey" was written. We are sensible, however, of the brutality of this remark, and will go into

this matter in detail, more especially as it is one where we have the opportunity of testing Mr. Butler's methods. Moreover, this passage in Thucydides is the keystone of Mr. Butler's edifice, and if it is removed the edifice itself crumbles into ruins. Well, then, Thucydides says (vi. 2):

After Troy was taken certain Trojans, escaping from the Achæans, came in ships to Sicily, and settled near the Sicanians [the original inhabitants]. They took the name of Elymi, and their cities were Eryx and Egesta. And certain Phocians from Troy (*Φωκίων τινὲς τῶν ἀπὸ Τροίας*) settled near them, having been driven by a tempest to Libya first, and then from there to Sicily.

Phocians, says Mr. Butler, are clearly Phocæans from Phocæa, an Ionian city in the north of Asia Minor, and equally clearly Phocæans are the Homeric Phæaciens. What could be simpler? Now Phocæa was founded by Ionians from Greece, probably Attica, *after* the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus, and it is a commonplace of Homeric criticism that both the "Iliad" and "Odyssey" were composed before the Dorian immigration, inasmuch as there is no allusion in them, direct or indirect, to this important event. Consequently the Greek colonies in Asia Minor are ignored in Homer. In the next place, we are of opinion that Mr. Butler misunderstands Thucydides, though he quotes his words accurately—*Φωκίων τινὲς τῶν ἀπὸ Τροίας*. Mr. Butler takes these words to mean "certain Phocians from the neighbourhood of Troy," and asserts that if the meaning was "certain Phocians returning from Troy, *i.e.*, from the Trojan war," we should have a participle, *ἀνερχόμενων*, or some such word added. His scholarship is here unimpeachable, but we fear that he displays a little of the pedantry of which he accuses Homeric scholars. We should no doubt require such a participle under ordinary circumstances, but here the context makes all the difference. For when we consider that there were no Phocians, or indeed Greeks at all, settled in the neighbourhood of Troy, and that, on the other hand, Phocians *were* present at the Trojan war, we are obliged to take the words to mean Phocians returning from Troy, and this is the meaning given to them by all commentators as far as we know, with the exception of Mr. Butler. It would then have been easier for Mr. Butler if he had said nothing of the Phocæans, but clung to the Phocians. At any rate, he would not have been guilty of an anachronism. But we have not yet done with Thucydides. His authority is no doubt first-rate, but his text is often uncertain, and the word *Φωκίων* here has given rise to much discussion among scholars. First, there is no other evidence of any Phocians or Greeks having settled in Sicily at this early date;

and secondly, Thucydides seems to contradict himself, for he opens the following chapter with the words: "Of the Greeks the first colonists were some Chalcidians from Euboea," who founded Naxos. This was B.C. 735, and Thucydides said just before that the Sicels, who had followed the Sicanians came over 300 years before the Greeks. Consequently the word *Φακέων* in the text has rightly been suspected. One scholar proposes *Φρυγῶν*, but that has difficulties of its own. And Mr. Butler pins his faith to this one word!

As to the geography of the "Odyssey" the author seems to have been most familiar with the coast of Asia Minor, much less so with the Ionian Islands, whose relative position he quite mistakes, while all the rest of his geography is in Fairyland. In later times the abodes of the Cyclopes, the Laestrygones, Scylla and Charybdis, were no doubt laid in Sicily, as Thucydides reminds us, while Scheria, the land of the Phaeacians, was identified with Corcyra, the modern Corfu. Mr. Butler ingeniously contends that this latter identification took place because the earlier name of Corcyra was Drepane, and that it was confounded with Drepanum in Sicily, the real site of Scheria. But *Drepanon* or *Drepane*, both forms occur, means "sickle" in Greek, and several places acquired that name from a fancied resemblance to a sickle in shape. Thus we are told by Thucydides that Zancle (later Messina) was so-called from its resemblance to a sickle, Zancle being the native Sicilian word equivalent to *Drepanon* in Greek. Again, Mr. Butler finds a reference to Sardinia in the word *σαρδάνιον*, but this is purely an effort of imagination. The word is connected probably with *σαίρω*, "to show the teeth." In later times the peculiar and bitter smile denoted by the word was ascribed to the effect of a plant found in Sardinia, but this was obviously an after-thought, and this after-thought is responsible for the variant *Εαρδόνιον* in the "Odyssey." The result then of testing Mr. Butler where we can test him, is not such as to lead us to place confidence in his argumentative methods where we cannot test him. But we do not part from him in ill humour. If we do not agree with him, at any rate we have something for our trouble, and there are many shrewd remarks scattered through the book that have a value of their own quite independent of the use to which they are put. Let him have patience. He can hardly expect the walls of Jericho to fall down at the sound of a penny whistle. If he does not live to see his theory generally accepted, he only shares the fate of Copernicus, Harvey and other great men born before their time. Who knows whether a hundred years hence the female authorship of the "Odyssey" may not be as much unquestioned as the circulation of the blood? Meantime, if we judge

Mr. Butler correctly, he is not a gentleman who is easily depressed, and we are quite ready to believe him when he asserts that it cannot matter to him where the "Odyssey" was written, or whether it was written by a man or a woman.

R. C. S.

The Odyssey of Homer. Translated by J. G. CORDERY, C.S.I.,
Author of a Translation of the Iliad. London: Methuen & Co.
1897.

THERE is always something unsatisfactory in a poetical translation. At best it is a compromise. The excellences of a translation are seldom those of the original, while too much fidelity in rendering produces a bald and prosaic effect. This is merely the same as saying that every language has its own idioms and its own metaphors, and the spirit of poetry is apt to escape in the transition from one to another. The present translation of the "Odyssey" may be commended for its accuracy, while the verse is good enough to be quite readable. At the same time it can hardly be considered more than a respectable performance, and the author, in his modest preface, would hardly claim more. Perhaps the least unsuccessful poetical translation of the "Odyssey" in our days is that of Mr. P. H. Worsley, and that is now nearly forty years old. We are disposed to agree with Mr. Worsley when he says, "The fact that the 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey' of both Chapman and Pope are read, while Cowper is neglected, seems to indicate, among other things, that blank verse will not, in these long narrative poems, sustain the interest of the general reader." Now Mr. Cordery's translation is in blank verse, while Mr. Worsley has adopted the Spenserian stanza and given an archaic tone to his version. This leads on to the further question whether a translation of the "Odyssey" should aim at archaism. This was the subject of a famous controversy between Prof. Francis Newman and Mr. Matthew Arnold some thirty years ago. Mr. Cordery decidedly agrees with the latter. He says: "I have eschewed the use of all mock-archaic diction in which so many translators indulge, because I believe that Homer's language was to his original audiences not a whit more antiquated than that of Shakespeare or Milton, or of any poetry as now contrasted with prose, sounds to our own ears." Mr. Cordery may be right in his practice, but the reason he alleges is hardly satisfying, for then there could hardly be such a thing as archaic diction at all. It might very plausibly be urged that archaism is in place, to a certain extent, in translating an old-world fairy tale, such as the

"Odyssey," and some of the gentle humorous touches certainly suggest an archaic setting. For instance, when Telemachus, on being asked his parentage, replies: "Stranger, I will tell you very truly. My mother says that I am her son, but I do not know; for no one ever knew his own stock of his own knowledge," or when Telemachus asks the stranger what sailors brought him to Ithaca, "for I do not at all think that you came hither by land." The following is a fair specimen of Mr. Cordery's work—from the description of the palace of Alcinous:

Speaking bright-eyed Athene pass'd away
Across the untrodden ocean; and she left
Scheria's fair isle and came to Marathon,
And so to broad-way'd Athens, where she went
Into Erechtheus' palace.

But meanwhile
Odysseus to Alcinous' famed abode
Came, yet before the brazen threshold oft
Paused, pondering, and his heart misdoubted much;
Since through renowned Alcinous' high-roof'd house
There was a radiance as of sun or moon.
The walls with brass were panell'd all four sides
From threshold unto corner, but the roof
With blue enamel coped; of gold the gates
Which closed the whole rich mansion, and thereto
Silver the lintel, and the handles gold,
Silver the posts, and brass the threshold lay.
Of gold and silver, either side, were dogs,
Hephaestus' workmanship to rival life,
O'er the great King's abode there placed in watch,
Immortal, and unageing all their days.
From threshold unto corner through the hall
Thrones to the walls were added, either side,
Whereon some fine-spun tapestry was thrown,
The work of women's hands. And there the chiefs
Now seated in their wassail ate and drank,
For plenty was before them. Youthful shapes,
Sculptured in gold, on well-built pedestals
Stood, and with lighted torches in their hands
Made the nights blaze to revellers in the halls.
Fifty the handmaids in that palace born;
Some on the millstones mellow grain would grind;
Some weaving ply their shuttles, rustling quick
As the tall poplar's leaves: so close their cloth
That liquid off its surface oil would run.

On these lines we may remark that we are not informed in Homer that Scheria was an island, although it was in later times identified with Corcyra. The inversion in the last line is rather unpleasing.

R. C. S.

Genesis Critically and Exegetically Expounded. By Dr. A. DILLMANN. Translated from the last edition by W. M. STEVENSON, B.D. In two volumes. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. 1897.

THE name of Dillmann, the great Berlin professor of Hebrew and Old Testament exegesis, is not less known by all Old Testament students in England and America than that of Delitzsch, professor at Leipzig. Dillmann died in 1897, and Delitzsch seven or eight years ago. In both men the Lutheran Church of Germany has possessed not only two of the most eminent Hebrew and biblical scholars of this century, but also two sincere and able champions of the Christian religion.

Delitzsch and Dillmann resembled one another in several respects. They were both hard workers, devoted students of the sacred Scriptures, and have done much to promote morality and revive the Christian religion in Germany. The great popularity which their works enjoy in Germany, England and America shows that on the whole people wish to see the Scriptures explained not merely from a scientific point of view, but also for a religious purpose. Delitzsch and Dillmann owe in no small measure the success of their writings to the circumstance that they knew how to combine in their commentaries a scholarly treatment with religious instruction. Their manner of proceeding was this: first they determined by means of the whole critical apparatus (language, history, science) the true and literal meaning of the text, and then directed their attention to the task of drawing some moral inference or making some pious reflection. Just as the former is not sufficiently attended to by Catholic commentators, the latter is too much overlooked by Protestant expositors of too critical a mind.

With regard to the higher criticism Dillmann, as is well known, accepted the main points on which all critics are agreed. Delitzsch was, during the first and greater period of his life, opposed to the theory of the Pentateuch's composition and successive origin. Only towards the end of his life, when fully convinced of its truth, he publicly accepted it. Dillmann, on the contrary, was from the beginning of his career as scholar on the side of the critical movement. Yet his attitude towards the higher criticism always closely resembled that which he maintained towards the criticism of the Hebrew text. In every respect he was a conservative and moderate critic. Although he assisted the main work of the critical school, he was on many points an opponent, and one of great weight and authority, of its more advanced members. His calm and sober judgment

safeguarded him from accepting any modern opinion on the date and authorship of the Old Testament writings unless it was thoroughly proved, and all the objections against it sufficiently answered. Mere plausible suppositions, such as were easily accepted by critics of the Kuenen-Wellhausen group, never found favour with him. In this way Dillmann has done much to keep the critical movement within proper bounds. For a long time, for instance, he upheld the priority of the priestly code as regards the Deuteronomic legislation. Even in the introduction to the present commentary, one of his latest works, he retains substantially the same opinion, although he is willing to admit that after the Captivity the priestly narrative and many of its regulations were greatly modified. "Without doubt its author belonged to the circle of priests at the central sanctuary in Jerusalem. A simple statement of the date of its origin cannot be given on account of the gradual remodelling and enlargement which it underwent (especially in Exod. Lev. Num.) in exilic and post-exilic times. Yet the original writing undoubtedly dates back to the times of the kings of Israel."

About the commentary itself nothing need be said, and we may spare ourselves the task of praising and commending it. Dillmann's name and reputation are the best guarantee that it has been ably and thoroughly written. The two drawbacks which we experienced when studying his commentaries on Job and Isaiah, are here also although in a lesser degree apparent. The first is that Dillmann whilst commenting on the Hebrew text does not give its entire translation. The other is his custom of giving on difficult passages all explanations which are of any importance. Especially in his work on Job the reader has often to go through four or five opinions before he gets at the one Dillmann adopts or himself proposes. This custom, no doubt, is the result of modesty. He fears unduly imposing his own judgment upon his readers. Amongst the opinions rejected by him may be one more acceptable to the reader than that to which he gives preference. Yet this circumstance occasionally makes the reading of his books somewhat wearisome.

C. v. d. B.

Life of Don Bosco. Translated from the French of J. M. VILLEFRANCHE. By Lady MARTIN. Third Edition. London: Burns and Oates. 1898.

THE appearance of a third edition of the life of the Founder of the Salesian Order in Lady Martin's excellent translation from the French is especially appropriate at the present moment, when the

cause of his beatification is in process of consideration in Rome. The story of the humble and insignificant Piedmontese peasant who, without great endowments of mind or body, attained such an influence over the minds of all with whom he came in contact, is, indeed, one of those records of supernatural wonder of which the world can never tire. The great ones of the earth, princes and statesmen, felt his power equally with the little waifs of the streets and outcasts of the jails of Turin, over whom it was so beneficially exercised. None could say wherein the spell lay, but the Church will doubtless one day declare it, when she raises him to the altars, and pronounces that it consisted in the supernatural eminence and authority of a saint.

Unravelled Convictions. By Lady AMABEL KERR. Second edition. Catholic Truth Society.

THIS book is a republication of papers written some thirty years ago. They were put together as the record of a maturing conviction which was ultimately given effect, and has been tested during a quarter of a century of Catholic life. The book has thus a personal history and interest which will commend it to those who may be looking towards the Church with misgivings as to how far conclusions which satisfy heart and head will stand the strain of practice.

The point from which the authoress started was decidedly Protestant, and her polemic is mainly against "Bible Christians." She rested for a little while in the "ultra high Anglican theory of the Church." It delayed but it did not detain her. To it she devotes a few pages in the chapter on the Fathers, discussing its claims to be a reproduction of primitive Christianity. Her point is the necessity combined with the impossibility of a part of the Church of England proving itself to be the whole; and, waiving this, that after all it merely represents the spirit of private judgment once removed by the interposition of an arbitrarily limited period of Christian opinion used as an external standard of faith and practice.

The direct scope of the book concerns those who are moving from Individualism to Catholicism. The first two chapters are, speaking quite generally, destructive, dealing with the absurdities involved in taking a private rule of faith, or in treating the Bible as self-explanatory, though in both cases the Catholic position is defended and developed as the necessary antithesis. The last two chapters are mainly apologetic. In that on the Fathers the general argument is that their spirit could never have produced Protestantism, though it is con-

sistent enough with a continuously expanding Catholicism. The last and longest chapter, on the history of the Church, does not pretend to any strict unity. Some arguments are considered against the Church here and now being the heir of the Church set up by our Lord. It is shown that they prove too much. "Corruptions," which it is suggested got in no one knows exactly when or how, can be pushed back, so far as they are identified with any particular doctrines, to Apostolic times. So, too, again, if the Church can utterly outgrow its usefulness, it can never have been strictly necessary.

The excellence of the book lies, as might be expected from its scale, in the grasp and development of principles rather than in details. Indeed, what detail is given must be considered more as illustration than as proof. The authoress seizes very successfully many of the points of view which every one must get on their way to the Catholic Church. Thus she insists repeatedly on the need of a positive or constructive method; the right question is "Can I accept?" not "Can I reject?" So, too, one must demand and expect a coherent system. "Our knowledge of things unseen, however finite, was meant to be definite." The possibility of resting in permanent suspense, in vague mysticism, she seems to have rejected instinctively. Then, in a more logical way, she would press on herself and others the *implications* of their position. The Bible and the Church of England, taken as guides, presuppose some antecedent body; the former a body to select in the first instance and to certify; the latter something to be the object of a sustained protest, which is the justification of its existence. She would insist that this body exists and cannot be ignored; that there is no escape from examination and rejection or acceptance of its claims. Finally, what may be called the constructive use of analogy is brought out. You can argue from Almighty God's dealings with the Jews to His probable dealings with us. If His dealings were corporate with them, it is unlikely that we shall be left to grope our way as individuals with only a dim light within us. Again, a single doctrine adequately held will grow and yield others, till we shall embrace naturally and almost imperceptibly the whole body of Catholic truth. She herself began with such a living belief in our Lord's Presence in the Blessed Sacrament. The fault of the book is perhaps a certain diffuseness which sometimes disguises the argument. Still it is meant to edify as well as to instruct, and, possibly, its usefulness would be lessened if, when rewritten more concisely and impersonally, it lost its character as a record of the formation of a conviction.

R. B.

Songs from Prudentius. By ERNEST GILLIAT SMITH. London and New York: John Lane. 1898.

THIS English version of the old Spanish bard's songs of Christian philosophy forms an interesting subject of study for readers sated with the confused utterances of their own age. The voice which comes to us across so many centuries is still strong and resonant with a music of its own, tuned as it is to the old yet ever new diapason of Christian piety, the motive of all that is best in art. Mr. Gilliat Smith tells us in his verse-prologue that all we know of the poet is contained in the autobiographical sketch prefaced to his works, from which we learn that he was born in Spain 1500 years ago, that he rose to great power and eminence under the reigning Emperor at Rome, and that at fifty-seven he threw up place and position to dedicate himself to the task of celebrating the true faith. His prologue accordingly concludes in the unrhymed rendering of the translator:

Let thy days pass in canticles,
And let no night go by which doth not hymn thy Lord,
Dissipate heresy, sing of His truth, preach Catholic verity.

Fight against all false deities,
And of her idols purge this mighty town of Rome.
And for her witnesses weave thou fair crowns, garlands of hymnody.

And while I write or speak these things,
O that these fleshly bonds may break, may be dissolved,
May set my spirit free, that my last sigh may mount in song to Christ!

India. A Sketch of the Madura Mission. By H. WHITEHEAD, S.J.
London: Burns & Oates.

THE reverend author of this work says in his preface that he was urged to it by the enthusiastic panegyric on Catholic missionaries written by a Protestant to the *New York Independent*, a Protestant paper. After saying that their devotion, of which Father Damien's was but a specimen, "ought to electrify the world," he concludes as follows: "The work of Protestant missions is blazoned abroad in every paper, whilst almost nothing is known of the Propaganda at Rome." A curious instance of this is furnished by the latest edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," in which the article on Missions contains no allusion to those of the Catholic Church. Father Whitehead desires to do his part towards filling this blank in the hope of

exciting the interest of English Catholics in a mission which needs only added means to give a great extension to the movement of conversion now so markedly on the increase among the heathen of Southern India. The Madura Mission, founded by Father de Nobili in 1606, flourished until on the suppression of the Jesuit Order it fell into the hands of the Goanese, by whom it was neglected. Restored to its first apostles in 1837, it was constituted a diocese in 1886, with Trichinopoly as the episcopal residence. An outbreak of Hindu fanaticism in April 1895 against the Christians of the village of Kalugumalai, where 100 families of the Shanar caste had all asked for baptism and instruction together, has been the cause of a great increase in the number of converts. Several of the neophytes were on this occasion burned in a riot during a Hindu festival, and the Christians, falsely accused of having been the originators of the mischief, were at first condemned to pay the penalty by the condemnation of several of their number. The reversal of this sentence by the High Court of Madras caused a great revulsion of feeling, with the result of an accession to the numbers of those applying for instruction far in excess of the power of the present organisation of the mission to supply. In the words of the prefatory letter of the Bishop of Trichinopoly it "stands sorely in need of men and funds," and this interesting little volume is mainly intended as an appeal for the material aid required.

Motion: its Origin and Conservation. An Essay. By the Rev. WALTER McDONALD, D.D., Prefect of the Dunboyne Establishment, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. Dublin: Browne and Nolan, Limited, Nassau Street. London: Burns & Oates, Limited. Pp. 457. 1898.

IT is generally believed that either the Thomist or the Molinist doctrine on the origin of motion represents the genuine teaching of St. Thomas on that subject. Dr. McDonald, however, would have us believe that both Thomists and Molinists fail to represent that teaching. The teaching of St. Thomas is, however, still discoverable—nay, has actually been discovered. The credit of the discovery belongs to Dr. McDonald, and he sets the result of his discovery before us as follows: (a) No creature can act unless after it has received from God an actual force, which is in no way different from motion; (b) when the creature has received this *force-motion*, its action does not even partially consist in giving out any force of its own distinct from that which it received, but in sustaining, and

therefore owning, the motion infused by God; (c) nevertheless, creatures are true efficient causes, producing effects by the influences they exercise not only within themselves, but on one another by means of *transient actions*. But this *fluxus* or *passage* is of motion, and of it alone; as there is nothing else that could flow or pass unless force, which, as has been said, is but another name for motion. This, says our author, was the teaching of St. Thomas, as it had been the teaching of Aristotle. The statement is a somewhat astonishing one; but it is not to rest a mere statement. Dr. McDonald has his proofs, and he produces them. We have gone carefully through these proofs, and found them to be, properly speaking, no proofs at all. Did we belong to the Molinist school we should be compelled, we think, to regard some of the passages quoted by our author from St. Thomas as having a dangerously Thomist tendency. But we find no single passage in the quotations adduced, whether from St. Thomas or from Aristotle, that affords the least countenance to Dr. McDonald's theory. Our author's system is, in our opinion, as little true to fact as it is to the teaching of St. Thomas. It is a system which needs a very full vindication, and Dr. McDonald fails to vindicate it. How can vital acts maintain their vitality in the face of such a system? How, still more, can free acts maintain their freedom? Dr. McDonald perceives the difficulty, and is at pains to remove it; but not, we think, successfully. Technically, his system may differ from Occasionalism, but as to essentials it is not easy to see the difference.

A Vindication of the Bull "Apostolicæ Curæ." A Letter on Anglican Orders. By the Cardinal Archbishop and Bishops of the Province of Westminster in reply to the Letter addressed to them by the Anglican Archbishops of Canterbury and York. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 39 Paternoster Row; New York and Bombay. Pp. 122. 1898.

IN the early part of last year the Anglican Archbishops of Canterbury and York published, in the form of a letter "addressed to the whole body of Bishops of the Catholic Church," a "Reply to the Papal Bull on Anglican Orders." It remained with the Cardinal Archbishop and the Bishops of the province of Westminster, as the appointed representatives of the Catholic Church in this country, to take such notice as they should deem fitting of the Letter of the Anglican Archbishops. They decided to publish a letter in reply, partly that they might not allow to pass without acknowledgment a letter addressed to themselves, but chiefly that they might have an

opportunity of removing the "many misconceptions [which] have gathered round the Papal Bull, both as regards the motives which induced Leo XIII. to deal with the subject at all, and as regards the grounds on which the Bull rests its actual decision." Did these misconceptions, which are so widespread, even amongst those from whom a better knowledge might have been expected, that they "underlie most of the arguments" of the letter of the Anglican Archbishops, affect issues of less importance, we could almost afford to be grateful to them by reason of the stately and dignified "Vindication" which they have occasioned. We cannot better express our opinion of this remarkably able piece of controversial writing than in the words of the Bishop of Shrewsbury in his recently published Lenten Pastoral :

It is [says his Lordship] a theological and historical document, the value and importance of which it is impossible to overrate. As a treatise upon the subject, so all-vital to our fellow-countrymen without the fold, of Anglican orders, nothing so clear, so accurate and full, in a brief and handy form, has yet appeared in any language.—*Tablet*, Feb. 26, 1898.

Life of the Blessed Master John of Avila, Secular Priest, called the Apostle of Andalusia. By Father LONGARI DEGLI ODDI, of the Society of Jesus. Edited by J. G. MACLEOD, S.J. Translated from the Italian. London: Burns & Oates. 1898.

WHEN the Emperor Charles V. came to Spain in 1517, "he found," says Dr. Creighton, "a Church purified and strong in its own organisation and still stronger in its hold on the people" ("History of the Papacy," vol. v. p. 109). "The worldly clergy had been removed and replaced by men of fervent zeal and enthusiastic piety. The system of the Church was displayed in all its dignity and authority" (*ib.* p. 108). We have quoted these passages, the truth of which seems to be borne out by almost every page of the narrative before us, because its writer begins with some rather conventional remarks about "human depravity," "the world grown old in vice," "souls of sterner quality," who show that "holiness does not depend upon the times," which imply that the lot of Master John of Avila fell upon evil days when vice was in the ascendant. The Spanish Church of the sixteenth century was the Church of Ximenes and Las Casas, of the Saints Thomas of Villanova, John of the Cross, John of God, Theresa, Peter of Alcantara, Ignatius of Loyola, Francis Borgia, the venerable Louis of Granada, and of their supporters and fellow-workers, of the Blessed John of Avila, the priests and pious laymen

who became his disciples, and the zealous bishops who welcomed his services. We should recommend any one who might be saddened by what he reads in the pages of a Creighton or a Pastor about scandals and corruptions in high places to dip into the lives of contemporary saints. He will find the truth of the homely saying illustrated that the scum rises to the surface. A saint is rarely, perhaps never, a solitary beacon; he is always, or nearly always, a greater light amid many lesser lights, the sun or the moon among the heavenly host. The Blessed John of Avila is certainly no exception to this rule.

But it is ungracious to begin by finding fault with a book which, whatever may be its shortcomings, should be cordially welcomed. The editors of the Quarterly Series have made, if we may be allowed the expression, "a find." Up till now all the information accessible to the English reader concerning Blessed John of Avila was to be found in the somewhat meagre details given by Alban Butler in a note appended to the "Life of St. John of the Cross." Yet his is a life worth knowing, not only for its own sake, but because of the light it sheds on the careers of saints whose names are household words among us.

John of Avila was born at Almodovar, a town in the diocese of Toledo, in the year 1500. Alexander VI. was Pope, and Ferdinand and Isabella were reigning in Spain. At the early age of fourteen he went to Salamanca to study law. But secular studies soon proved irksome to him, for the vocation to a life of heroic sanctity had already begun to make itself felt. He was allowed to return home and lived in a retired part of his father's house, almost the life of a hermit, practising great austerities and "with no other thought than that of sanctifying himself." He was persuaded, however, by a Franciscan who became acquainted with him, and found out the stuff of which he was made, to resume his studies. He went to the University of Alcalá, which had been recently founded by Ximenes,* and was famous for Scripture exegesis.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that it was here he imbibed the love of Scripture, and especially of the Epistles of St. Paul, which his biographer often refers to. Thus, for example, we read that at Cordova, after preaching in the morning and hearing confessions during the rest of the day, he used at evening to return

to the pulpit and deliver a discourse upon Holy Scripture, setting forth clearly . . . the deepest and most abstruse teaching of the Apostle St. Paul. The novelty of this subject excited more than any other the

* It was from Alcalá that the Complutensian Polyglot was issued.

curiosity of the citizens, especially of ecclesiastics and men of rank, and rendered it very fruitful in results and most efficacious in winning souls.

After completing his studies Avila was ordained priest, and the rest of his life was devoted to prayer, preaching, hearing confessions, and other good works. He was what nowadays we should call a great educationalist. In order to train up worthy ecclesiastics, and also with the object of counteracting the evil effects of idleness among young men, he devoted much time and labour to erecting schools and colleges in different towns of Andalusia. He was the first superior of a university which had recently been erected at Baeza.

The Ven. Louis of Granada had the good fortune to meet with Avila, and the grace to accept a rebuke and seek his counsel at a critical period in his career, when, "like a young plant," he "showed in his sermons more of flower than of fruit." It was by a sermon of Avila's that the marvellous conversion of St. John of God was brought about. It was to Avila that St. Francis Borgia went for advice when he was changing "a life already good to one of still greater perfection." St. Theresa consulted him. "If it might please God that this holy man should come and dwell amongst us, we would carry him on our shoulders like the Ark of the Covenant," said St. Ignatius on hearing that Avila had often thought of joining his Society, but had been deterred by his age and infirmities. Few things in the lives of the saints are more edifying than the quiet and gentle manner in which Avila befriended St. Ignatius and his companions, gave place to them, and allowed his own works and projects to be superseded by them. When "the news reached him that Ignatius of Loyola had founded a new religious order," "Blessed be God," he exclaimed, "to this giant has been reserved so great a work." He himself had been designing a society of priests on similar lines.

Master John of Avila died in 1569; he was declared "Blessed" by the present Pope in 1893. The life by Father degli Oddi was originally published in the last century, and was reprinted with some additional matter about five years ago. It is based on two Spanish lives, by Louis of Granada and Louis Munnoz respectively, and also on the processes compiled for Avila's beatification. The translator has appended two interesting documents, one from the "Cartas de San Ignacio" treating of the "Conformity of Spirit between the Blessed John of Avila and St. Ignatius," the other a "Letter of Advice given by Father Avila to Father James de Guzman and Dr. Lourte when they were about to enter the Society of Jesus."

The English translation reads easily and pleasantly, but we should

have preferred an original life. That by Father degli Oddi, for modern taste, is written too much after the manner of "the old time-honoured Saint's Life, with its emphasis on the miraculous and startling features of the portrait, its suppression of what was natural, ordinary, and therefore presumably uninteresting" (*The Month*, December 1897, p. 601). We should like to learn a great deal more about Avila's educational work, and especially about the university of Baeza, about his disciples, and the degree to which they formed an organised body. We are reading the life of a man who must have been eminently practical, and we learn nothing, or next to nothing, about his methods. The editor might have added some dates—*e.g.*, that of the letter to St. Theresa, which as it stands is a mere disconnected fragment both as regards his life and that of Avila. It was written in 1568, and the reader will find full information concerning it in the second volume of Fr. Coleridge's "Life and Letters of St. Theresa." We should have learned incidentally a good deal about the "conformity of spirit between Blessed John of Avila and St. Ignatius," if we had been favoured with an account of the troubles at Salamanca, when St. Ignatius appealed to Avila for support. A short account of Avila's writings and an appreciation of them would have been a welcome addition, and last but not least, a bibliography. Some of our readers may be glad to know that a French translation—that, we believe, of Arnauld d'Andilly—of these writings is to be found in the fourth volume of Migne's "Œuvres . . . de Saint Thérèse." We have heard of, but never seen, an English translation of some letters published in the sixteenth or early seventeenth century. A Spanish edition of the Works and Life, in nine volumes, 8vo. Madrid, 1792–1806, has been strangely overlooked in such books of reference as we have been able to consult.

Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers. By
ALBERT S. COOK. London: Macmillan. 1898.

MR. COOK'S volume is intended, he says, for "the biblical scholar, the professional student of English speech, and the person who desires to gain in the easiest possible manner a slight reading knowledge of old English prose." The book unquestionably fulfils the purpose of its author, and his industry cannot fail to be appreciated by the three classes of students he had chiefly in view in its compilation. The biblical passages have been chosen from the old English—or, as some prefer to call them, Anglo-Saxon—translations of King

Alfred, and from Ælfric's "Saxon Homilies," and at the bottom of each page is given the Latin originals of the English quotations, arranged and numbered in so clear and evident a manner that the eye travels from the one to the other with the least possible difficulty. Mr. Cook, indeed, makes no attempt to determine the particular version of the Latin Bible used by the old English writers in the passages he has collected. The determination of this most interesting point he leaves to the biblical scholar, his main purpose being linguistic. He, however, points out—what indeed is obvious to the mere novice—that the quotations are in many cases not those of the Vulgate. It is to be hoped that some student will now work upon the material Mr. Cook's industry has collected, and determine the actual version or versions of the Latin Scriptures used. Meantime, we have in this volume an excellent means of acquiring a reading knowledge of Anglo-Saxon, assisted by the Latin translation at the foot of the pages, and by the excellent index of principal words at the end.

The author devotes his Introduction of seventy pages to an essay upon the classification of ancient English biblical texts, and an attempt to assign to them their proper date. "The astounding mis-statements and omissions of the latest and most authoritative books of reference which treat of this subject," he considers, "will no doubt be deemed a sufficient reason for the essay here presented." Certainly much of what Mr. Cook says goes far to justify his charge of "astounding mis-statements" in "the most authoritative books of reference." The only exception we should be inclined to make is as to the word "astounding," for such mistakes are really so common even in works most relied upon that we have long ceased to be astonished at anything. Mr. Cook, however, fully realises the difficulty of the subject he has taken in hand, and hopes that his own "shortcomings may be the more leniently judged," because others before him have been so wrong in their conclusions. In this essay there is much that is of great interest to students of Early English manuscripts, and we specially commend to the attention of readers the account of the Durham Book of the Gospels (MS. Cotton Nero D. 4), known as the "Lindisfarne Gospels." We are sorry, however, to find that, in giving an account of a comparatively recent palæographical discovery, which proves that the Lindisfarne book was copied from a MS. of the Gospels brought into England by Abbot Hadrian or perhaps by St. Theodore of Canterbury, Mr. Cook has been misled as to the *authorship* of this discovery. As Sir Edward Thompson says ("English Illuminated MSS." p. 7): "This knowledge we owe to the acute investigations of Mr. Edmund Bishop." Dom Morin, who is credited with the investigations by M.

Berger and others, and now again by Mr. Cook, has simply the credit of publishing Mr. Bishop's work in the *Revue Bénédictine*. The original investigations were made by Mr. Bishop, and not only the general conclusion, but all of the somewhat minute details of what is now regarded by all authorities as a very important palæographical and Biblical discovery is due to him. By an unfortunate way of publishing the fact, and not clearly stating that he was making use of Mr. Bishop's labours, Dom Morin has been given credit for investigations he never made. It is the more necessary to state the true facts, since it has been suggested as rather a reflection upon English scholars that so interesting a discovery had been made not by one of them, but by a chance foreign visitor at the British Museum.

Les Costumes et les Usages ecclésiastiques selon la Tradition romaine. Par Mgr. X. BARBIER DE MONTAULT, Prélat de la Maison de sa Sainteté. Tome premier. Paris : Letouzey et Ané, Rue du Vieux-Colombier 17.

THE author of this work, a learned archæologist, is already known in this country by his exhaustive treatise on the construction and furnishing of churches. In the work before us he has endeavoured to carry out the idea of Pope Pius IX., whose ardent wish was that local churches should conform themselves to the usage of the Church of Rome, whether in liturgy, chant, or costume. This volume contains in the first place the general rules and regulations of the Church concerning the dress of the clergy, and then proceeds to give an account of the costume usually worn in the house and out of it. In the third part the choir dress is treated of. The author promises us a treatment of the sacred vestments in a future volume. By reason of the circumstances in which we are placed in this country the book is likely to excite less interest than it would do in countries such as Italy, France, or Spain. It is curious to observe that the apparent indifference to ecclesiastical dress among the German clergy is by no means a growth of the last three hundred years, but can be traced back to mediæval times. According to our author, the spirit of Gallicanism, while extinct in any serious sense, survives so far as to take a pleasure in differing from Roman usage in little details of dress and ceremonial.

L'Escalade de Genève. Par CHARLES BUET. Paris: Téqui.
1898.

THIS is an historical romance, and its author shows our new school of historical novelists that "they do these things better in France," if in nothing else, at least in the sympathy being shown to the Catholic and not to the Protestant side. The period is that of the first few years of the seventeenth century; the scenes are laid in Savoy and Geneva, and the leading incident is an unsuccessful attack upon the metropolis of Calvinism by the emissaries of the Duc de Nemours. The various characters, whether real or fictitious, have considerable individuality. So interesting a personage as St. François de Sales steps upon the stage, and, among the lesser lights, Madame Nicoline, "one of those virtuous women who make virtue unendurable," may be found entertaining. The bulk of the book is so brightly written that its terribly tragic conclusion comes somewhat as a surprise: yet, in real life, how often tragedy treads upon the heels of comedy! and it would be bad art to make the whole of a story sombre simply because its ending must be sad. As in most other historical romances, it is difficult to determine how much is fact and how much fiction. If the account of the death of the hero be the latter, critics may vary in opinion as to whether his behaviour in begging for life on the plea that he was engaged to be married, or in imploring mercy in the name of the mother of his would-be destroyer, was very dignified; but, at any rate, he made a good death, refusing to oppose his sword to the son of a father who had fallen by it, resigning his soul into God's hands, and forgiving the man who was about to slay him.

La Marquise de Crenay, Une Amie de la Reine Hortense, de Napoléon III., et de la Duchesse de Berry. Avec un portrait. Lettres inédites. Par H. THIRRIA. Paris: R. J. Plange. 1898.

THIS work is not, as a first glance at its title might suggest, a biography of the Marquise de Crenay, but a collection of letters received by her from the three celebrities stated to have been her friends. It is well that they have been published: they are of considerable interest, they are a contribution to history; but let not the general reader expect too much; great people do not always write great letters, nor are the epistles of political characters invariably about politics. Yet if readers of these letters find many of them treating of trivial subjects, if the entertaining passages are rare, and

if much of the space is occupied by mere polite platitudes, writers on historical subjects know only too well that, in the compilation of histories or historical biographies, vast quantities of letters, for the most part less interesting than these, have to be carefully searched. In the present collection those of Napoléon III. are likely to attract most attention, and, if judged solely by these specimens, he would not appear to have been a very brilliant letter-writer, while the author admits that his handwriting is often very illegible. So far as M. Thirria's own work is concerned, there is little to criticise, and we have already had the pleasure of giving a very favourable notice in this Review to his Napoléon III.

La Chartreuse de N.-D.-Sous-Ombre. Par L'ABBÉ CROZAT.
Paris.

THIS is a religious novel, and it consists mainly of controversies between a free-thinker and a priest, yet, as will presently be seen, the story is not totally devoid of incident. A girl, whom for distinction's sake we will call Heroine No. One, fell in love with the free-thinker; but the free-thinker married an heiress. The heiress ran away with another man, whereupon the free-thinker tried to commit suicide. Having failed in this endeavour, he was taken to a hospital to be cured of his wound. There, the sister-of-charity who nursed him persuaded him to see a priest, and the long series of religious conferences mentioned above was the result. In the middle of them the free-thinker fought a duel, was wounded, and, to be cured of this second wound, was a second time nursed. His second nurse fell in love with him, and her love being unrequited, she withered and died. When partially recovered the free-thinker volunteered for the wars, but was rejected on account of his duel-wound. Then he fell into a state of despondency, and his friend, the priest, thought that marriage might prove a wholesome antidote. The only obstacle to the antidote was the wife to whom he was already married—the runaway wife; so the priest and the free-thinker were anxious to remove that obstacle. Happily they discovered that the wife's great-grandmother had been the (illicit) daughter of the free-thinker's great great-grandfather; therefore this consanguinity within the fourth degree enabled the ecclesiastical authorities to declare the marriage null and void. The free-thinker straightway married Heroine No. One, who subsequently died in her confinement. Conversion came to the free-thinker in his grief at her death; he was reconciled to the Church; he became a Carthu-

sian monk, and he died in the odour of sanctity. Much of this cleverly written religious novel may be useful to men; but possibly there may be English mothers who will scarcely consider it a book for maidens.

What is Socialism? By SCOTSBURN. London: Isbister & Co. 1898. 8vo, pp. 430.

THE author of this volume deserves in many respects our sympathy. He is convinced of the importance and danger of Socialism, and that its triumph would be the ruin of our high civilisation, national greatness, domestic life, and all religion. In this conviction he is substantially right; and right also in his calling attention to the absurdity of the picture sometimes drawn by Socialist writers representing our upper classes as pampered drones, when every quarter of the globe bears witness to their enterprising spirit, their dauntless courage, and matchless endurance. Indeed, the extreme unlikelihood of such spirit, courage, and endurance subsisting under the rule of Socialism is no small argument against it.

Nevertheless, whoever may be the writer hidden under the pseudonym of "Scotsburn," I would urge on him the need of amending in several points his method of attack on the Socialists. And if I dwell on these points it is because many other writers, some even among Catholics, are prone to take the same course, which can only lead to disaster.

First, then, let us be just in our accusations against the Socialists, without exaggeration or inaccuracy. But in this book, whatever wild or foolish thing one Socialist may say is attributed to all. "Socialists are all practically unanimous about this [the destruction of art and literature] as about all their other views" (p. 53). "Our Socialists . . . are practically unanimous in their wish to advance German interests as opposed to ours in the Transvaal and elsewhere" (p. 69). This is more like the method of No Popery fanatics than sober controversy. Again, a quantity of citations are given with merely a reference to the book or the name, without any page or even chapter given, and thus almost as impossible to verify as certain Protestant references to "Aquinas" or "Liguori." Two such references to *Fabian Essays* I have endeavoured to verify. One (p. 65) attributes to Mr. Bernard Shaw the startling statements that "Duty is the primal curse from which we must redeem ourselves Woman is to repudiate duty altogether." But I could find neither of these two sentences, nor anything like them. The second reference (p. 110), to Mr. Graham Wal-

lace, was discoverable indeed, but so garbled as quite to distort his meaning, and to convict the Socialists of injustice. But by such methods we only bring discredit on our cause.

Secondly, while we may justly denounce Socialism as implicitly, if not explicitly, hostile to Christianity, and incompatible with it, we must no less denounce any other doctrine of society hostile to Christianity. For otherwise, by confining our rebukes to only one offender, we fall under the suspicion of being anxious not so much about our prayers as about our pockets. Now "Scotsburn" has some excellent remarks on how the Christian religion counsels voluntary renunciation and self-denial; and, instead of approving of a life of material satisfactions, bids us look for our good things in another world, where alone there will be mansions for all, and the wicked will cease from troubling (p. 413). And he rightly points out how Socialism teaches that these Christian doctrines are pernicious fallacies. But is it only the Socialists who sneer at "other-worldliness"? Do not many who sit in high places, who are champions of law and order, and are authorised instructors of our youth deride these teachings of Christianity no less than the Socialists? Curiously enough, the author himself exclaims in one place (p. 71): "While the names of Herbert Spencer, Huxley, and Darwin lighten the darkness and sustain the courage of the world." Are their ethics and religious teaching so much more Christian than those of Mr. Belfort Bax, the poor Socialist, that all the cakes and ale are for them, and for him only the whipping-post? And this hard measure seems all the more unfair because it is not the Socialists as such who have cast away the Christian doctrines of resignation, submission, and looking forward to the next world; but, on the contrary, the poorer classes, having first been stripped of these beliefs by infidel teachers, have then naturally enough become Socialists, to make the most of this world in default of the next. If we are to be fair to Socialism we must never forget its character as the natural product of an irreligious society, and that one essential pre-requisite to getting rid of it is a return to religion.

Finally, we must also never forget the other main ground of the spread of Socialism—namely, the prevalence and impunity of iniquitous enrichment. Yet "Scotsburn" writes over 400 pages against the Socialists without showing any consciousness that there is anything wrong in our society which may account for their actions, and thus he makes them appear to act out of mere stupid and knavish perversity, to be met, not by the return to religion and social duty and by the enactment of laws of social reform, but rather by Maxim guns and repeating rifles. Thus he speaks of the dock strike of 1889 as "a

purely Socialist movement, worked for and got up by Socialist leaders" (p. 47), without expressing the smallest disapproval of the utterly demoralising conditions of employment and miserable life of the dock workmen before the strike, or the smallest satisfaction that there has been some amendment after it. Mr. Belfort Bax might well ask him in mockery what had become of the religion he was so anxious about that he could thus cast aside all thought of his brothers in Christ. Indeed, as far as words go (for he cannot really mean it), our author preaches the convenient gospel that those who succeed deserve their success, and those who fail their failure. And so when we enter the homes of misery we can deaden our emotions with the cheerful maxim that all the "evils, mental and physical, which crush the crawlers . . . they themselves are in the greatest measure accountable for" (p. 42). And when we are daily conscious of the fact how much wealth is due to the manifold practices of fraud and extortion, such as Jewish money-lending, Scotch credit drapery-selling, the tricks of the various trades, liquor-selling, and book-making, exorbitant commissions and law charges, promotion of companies, operating on the Stock Exchange, and forming rings, corners, and gigantic monopolies, we are by no means to be troubled or to interpose on behalf of the "helpless ones" and the "dim-eyed fumbler groping their laborious way." On the contrary, we must applaud all smartness and success and our happy civilisation which "allows the bright-eyed winged soul to achieve its aspirations" (*Ibid.*).

Now language of this kind from one who is avowedly (and I have no doubt sincerely) a champion of religion is doubly calamitous. For the Socialists can score a logical victory, and indulge inextinguishable laughter over the winged angel making his 100 to 800 per cent. And, secondly, those who for the sake of their country, their homes, and their altars would assail the Socialistic position are drawn away from the proper plan of campaign, which consists in the honest recognition of all social evils and the honest attempt to remedy them. Much rather, to every ounce of controversy with the Socialists let us add a pound of social reform, and, as a passing word of advice to "Scotsburn," let me suggest that he should make up what is lacking in his book by applying his talents and his energies to the work of social reform; beginning, let us say, by two matters of immediate and practical importance, one the suppression and punishment of the abominable usurers who prey with impunity on the weaker members and classes of our British commonwealth; and, secondly, the amendment of our mischievous, cruel, and scandalous law of imprisonment

for debt applied to the poor and not to the rich (on which Judge Parry in the *Fortnightly Review* for May last will give him information). And he will find, as others also will find, who are in dismay at the evil spirit of Socialism, that hard words are a much less powerful method of exorcism than good deeds.

CHARLES S. DEVAS.

Ignorance: a Study of the Causes and Effects of Popular Thought. By MARCUS R. P. DORMAN, M.A., M.B., Cantab. London: Gegan Paul & Co. 1898. 1 Vol. 8vo. Pp. 328.

THIS is in substance a book on one department of logic, namely, the causes of illusion, error, and ignorance, especially of those delusions that Bacon called the idols of the market-place. And the author gives us various useful illustrations of waves of popular emotion, national prejudices, and diplomatic mendacity, and he displays a healthy antipathy to the unchristian spirit of "Jingoism" and international hatred, that has made so sinister an advance in the last half of the nineteenth century.

Unhappily Mr. Dorman's work on the whole is much more misleading than instructive, because he is burdened with two sad disadvantages: he rejects Christianity and has no knowledge of history. Not that he is without religion, for he allows a domain for "idealistic," as well as "materialistic" sources of knowledge; professes to be a theist; praises the ethics of Christ and the "Christianity of pure love" (p. 291). But he rails at dogma, cannot endure asceticism, and half believes in the once fashionable teaching that morality was evolved on utilitarian grounds. So we have the curious conclusion that it is "absurd to attempt to teach a child that it is as wicked not to say its prayers as to steal, for the public utility of the latter can be easily demonstrated, but the former must always remain a purely idealistic conception of duty" (p. 261). And though he draws a bright picture of universal toleration and the respect to be accorded to every one's idea of the word holy, and to every form of ritual and ideal belief (p. 314), he does not show himself an example of such respect when he speaks of "the ceremonial, prejudice, bigotry, cant, lying, and hypocrisy which have grown to Christianity as barnacles to a ship" (p. 292); or when he says that "the Irish . . . are kept in a condition of benighted superstition by a bigoted, unprincipled priesthood" (p. 225). Yet I cannot feel angry with Mr. Dorman; he writes in such evident good faith, and is, after all, only an illustration of his own conviction

that "ignorance is the root of all evil." The real life, doctrines, and history of the Catholic Church are plainly an unknown world to him as well as the true course of history. At present he thinks that "the wave of indolent obedience to superstitions which have for centuries been heaped and accumulated by popes, kings, barons, and priests . . . has reached its breaker, the rock of reason" (p. 308). But let him look a little closer, let him acquire the thirst for facts, and he will find that if his rock of reason means critical methods and scientific history, then the popes and the priests will not be those to make shipwreck on it, but the teachers of undogmatic rationalism, of utilitarian morals, of a godless political economy.

C. S. D.

À travers l'Europe: enquêtes et notes de voyage. Par HENRI JOLY. Paris: Lecoffre. 1898. One Vol. 12mo. Pp. 379.

THIS volume is a collection of articles, some of them brightly written notes of travels in Finland, Austria, and Spain, besides inquiries into the reformatory systems of Switzerland, Germany, Holland, and England. But the part in which M. Joly is fully trustworthy and gives us solid and opportune information, is that in which he describes *l'éducation correctionnelle* in France—namely, the treatment of neglected or criminal children, such as in England are the inmates of our truant and industrial schools, our reformatories and "homes." Much is melancholy reading: the unfolding of the disastrous folly of the committal of young children to prison, and the awful failure of an irreligious State to make their godless reformatories, both for boys and girls, anything but schools of immorality and crime. But a brighter side is shown, partly already existing in the institutions for these poor children under the care of religious, and partly in the evidence of a new spirit of reform in France, at last aroused to stay the ruin of so many helpless victims.

C. S. D.

John Donne, sometime Dean of St. Paul's. By AUGUSTUS JESSOP, D.D. 8vo. Pp. 239. London: Methuen & Co. "Leaders of Religion" Series.

JOHN DONNE, though hardly "a leader of religion," was certainly a remarkable character, and we are grateful to Dr. Jessop for giving us his biography. Unfortunately he leaves out almost entirely the more interesting side of Donne's personality, and gives us little or no criticism of his poetic genius. He exhibits him instead as a Church-

man; and we cannot think, in spite of the hero-worship with which he surrounds him, that Dr. Jessop has presented to us an attractive figure. That he was almost forced into the Anglican ministry is clear; he found after many struggles that "it was the one and only road to preferment." Indeed, it is to be feared that this craving to make his way in the world had much to do with his miserable apostasy. For Donne came of good Catholic, nay, of martyr stock. His mother descended from Elizabeth Rastell, sister of the blessed Thomas More; his uncles were the famous Jesuit confessors, Ellis and Jaspar Heywood; his mother suffered loss of all things for conscience sake; and his brother Henry died a martyr's death in prison, for harbouring a priest, the Ven. William Harrington.

Sad indeed is it to see the young man, brought up as a strict Catholic, rushing into the coarsest anti-Catholic controversy, attacking especially the Society of Jesus, of which his uncle Jaspar had been Superior in England. The title of one of his works is sufficient: "Ignatius his Conclave, or his Inthronisation in a late Election in Hell: wherein many things are mingled by way of satire, concerning (1) the Disposition of Jesuits; (2) the Creation of a New Hell; (3) the Establishing of a Church in the Moon."

In 1610 appeared the *Pseudo-Martyr*, a quarto volume of nearly four hundred pages, intended to prove that the Catholics who suffered in England were traitors and not martyrs. Astounding to say, Dr. Jessop thinks that this book was not answered because it was unanswerable; "and to pass it by in silence or with a depreciating sneer was deemed the safer course." We should have thought the insincere and miserable argument had been so often refuted that another answer was quite unnecessary. After the specimen of Donne's taste just given, it is surprising to find that Dr. Jessop brands the Catholic protest against the oath of allegiance as all "more or less offensive." If Bellarmine is "offensive," what must Donne be called?

As a parish parson Donne excited, as is well known, the warm admiration of Izaak Walton, yet one glimpse we get of him gives a strange idea of his pastoral zeal. During the great plague which raged in London during the year of Charles I.'s accession, we learn from his own lips that the parson of St. Dunstan's "immured himself in a house" of Lady Danvers'. His other parishes were, of course, unknown to their pastor. His sermons were very popular, and the specimens Dr. Jessop gives are certainly striking. Still, we think he was well advised to give up his long-cherished scheme of a complete edition of the works of his hero.

The book contains two portraits, one of Donne as a young man of

eighteen, which gives little idea of the personal attractions he is said to have possessed, and the other of him clad in his shroud, as he stood, with singular taste, posing for his monument. On the whole, we cannot share the learned author's enthusiasm for the poet Dean of St. Paul's.

The author has done his work conscientiously, but the total lack of references (due, it must be said, to the fault of the publishers) makes the book useless as a serious contribution to history. The excellent index, however, must have its meed of praise.

Life of St. Catharine of Siena. By EDWARD L. AYMÉ, M.D.
New York : Benziger. Price 1 dollar.

WE were at first inclined to think that a new English life of St. Catharine was unnecessary and uncalled for, after the delightful volumes which Mother Frances Raphael Drane has consecrated to the memory of this glorious virgin. But after submitting this volume to a somewhat severe test, that of having it read aloud in a refectory, we are glad to be able to testify to its sterling excellence, and to recommend it warmly to the public. The fact that the author is a medical man gives additional value and interest to the account of so supernatural a life. Dr. Aymé accepts the accounts of the Saint with simplicity and faith; he neither criticises nor minimises. He does not seek to explain away her ecstasies or seek for a natural explanation of the stigmata; he recounts all that the Saint's biographers and contemporaries have told of her with fidelity and reverence. He would seem to be a member of the Third Order of Penance, and his devotion to the Saint is undoubtedly intense. The book will be useful for distribution in quarters where the price of Mother F. Raphael's larger work causes St. Catharine to be still too little known.

B. Petri Canisii, S.J. Epistolæ et Acta, II. (1556-1560). Freiburg-im-Breisgau : Herder. 16s.

WE are glad to call attention to the appearance of the second volume of Father Braunsberger's monumental work. This is worthy of its predecessor, which was received with universal admiration. It would be difficult to exaggerate the care and labour which the learned Jesuit has expended on this magnificent publication, and there can be little doubt that when the work is complete it will rank as one of the most remarkable contributions to Catholic historical study of the present century. This volume contains 283 letters of
[No. 27 of *Fourth Series*.]

B. Canisius, of which 160 are written by him or in his name, and 123 are addressed to him by various correspondents. Of these about 180 have hitherto remained unknown and unpublished. Besides the letters, 100 "monumenta" or "acta" are included in the volume, from the archives of Ratisbon, Worms, Cologne, Vienna, Munich, Augsburg, and other cities. It is to be noted that of those "monumenta" which are written in German Father Braunsberger does not give a Latin translation, as he does of the Epistles, which are written in the vernacular. This will be regretted by some readers, although the Latin summary prefixed to each document will doubtless, in most cases, suffice for all practical purposes.

Many readers will turn first to the famous Catechism, of which the editor gives us a full account of more than one edition. On page 889 we learn that the first "*Parvus catechismus Catholicorum*" written by the holy man was published at Cologne in 1558. No less than three editions appeared in the same city during 1559. Unhappily the three first editions seem to have altogether disappeared. In 1559 it was also printed at Antwerp and Vienna. In 1560 appeared the German catechism, published together with some German prayers. There remains only one copy of this precious little book, and even that is incomplete.

This volume begins at the period of the death of St. Ignatius, just as Blessed Canisius was entering on the office of Provincial of Northern Germany, a province which then included Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, and the Tyrol, and contained only three colleges of the Society, those of Vienna, Prague, and Ingolstadt. The times were full of difficulty, never were the Protestants more audacious or the Catholics more lax and irreligious. We find abundant proofs of all this in the letters of Canisius. He writes of the internal dissensions of the Protestant divines, of the Protestant princes and their sacking and spoiling both monasteries and churches, of the notorious vices of the Lutherans, but he does not conceal the blots that stained the character of the Catholic body. Even Catholics in Germany were anti-papal in feeling. They did not want to be reformed, and the Northern Bishops had almost given up the attempt in despair. The monasteries were deserted, and there were very few sacerdotal vocations, so that it was difficult enough to find young men fit to enter the German College at Rome which St. Ignatius had founded. These evils sprang in great part from the bad education of the young. Bavaria seemed falling rapidly into the abyss of heresy; Vienna was fast becoming a second Geneva.

Into this ocean of difficulties the young Society of Jesus flung itself

courageously, and, as we all know, achieved a marvellous success. The details of the conflict will be found in these pages. They are indeed worthy of study by all who either are interested in ecclesiastical history, or care to trace the triumphs of the Church, here, as ever, effected most brilliantly in weakness and poverty.

A full chronological table of B. Canisius' life during these years is appended. We can follow him from Ratisbon to Italy, and from Italy back to Munich. From Worms to Cologne, from Cologne to Bonn, from Bonn to Freiburg, to Ingolstadt and Nuremberg he is hurried by his indefatigable zeal. "Woe be to me if I preach not the Gospel" seems to be ever sounding in his ears. He founds the Colleges at Munich and Treves, and preaches before the Emperor at Augsburg; his copious correspondence shows him in constant communication, not only with Rome but with Albert V. of Bavaria, with the Emperor Ferdinand I. and with the German hierarchy. Most of the letters in this volume, however, are either from his superiors in Rome, or from himself to them. The letters will amply repay the closest study; and the scope of this inadequate notice is only to bring the work before the attention of our readers. It would be impossible to attempt to describe its contents within the space at our disposal.

Une fille de Henri IV. P. DELATTRE. Paris: Téqui. Prix 3 fr.

THIS is a charming account of our unhappy queen Henrietta Maria. Misfortune, indeed, seems to have dogged her steps from the first, and was never far off even during her most halcyon days. She was still a babe in the cradle when her father fell a victim to the dagger of Ravallac. Her early married life was unhappy, in spite of the devotion shown her by her young and chivalrous bridegroom; Buckingham was its evil genius, and his machinations resulted in the abrupt and cruel dismissal of her French attendants and the temporary estrangement of her husband. Her letters at this period to her mother, her brother Louis III., and Richelieu are very touching, perhaps because they are so childish in the abandonment of their despair. She was only sixteen at her marriage.

Misfortune purified and strengthened her character, and she became a truly valiant woman.

M. Delattre's portrait of the queen is sympathetic and interesting, and we have read his work with great pleasure.

He is rather hard on our country—he says, for instance, that the

poor young queen had to learn by sad experience that it was one thing to make promises, and quite another to keep them, "*surtout en Angleterre*." Buckingham is said to have been the incarnation of all the vices of his nationality!

There are some misprints, chiefly, of course, in English names. We hardly think that the Anglican rites of the royal marriage can have been celebrated "in the church of St. Augustine at Canterbury," as that once splendid building had long been a ruin. "Whi-te-Hall" is an odd way of writing the name of a royal palace, and "Lord Pembroc" is as unknown to us as is the breed of spaniels "called Kings' Charles." But these are the sort of blemishes one expects to find in a French book dealing with English affairs. They do not affect the value of the work, which is, of course, wholly popular, and intended for the general reader, not for the scientific historian. The story is not new, but it is pleasantly told.

Sister Anne Katharine Emmerich. Translated from the French by the Rev. FRANCIS K. MCGOWAN, O.S.A. New York: Benziger. Price \$1 50c.

THE life of Sister Emmerich was one of the most extraordinary of modern times. As the Church has not yet pronounced on her sanctity or on her revelations, it is obviously out of place to attempt to decide their value. The critic can, however, have no such hesitation in judging the style of this work, which is as atrocious as might be expected from an American translation of a French version of a German original. The original must have been sufficiently involved and obscure, and it has not been improved by the transformations it has undergone. Nevertheless the book is worth reading on account of the extraordinary character of the life of this humble virgin. The account of her stigmata and the brutal examination of them made by the secular authorities is of great though painful interest. The author is too apt to anticipate the judgment of the Church on the authority of Katharine's revelations.

Reviews in Brief.

Buzzer's Christmas. By MARY T. WAGGAMAN. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1897.—This delightful story of children, though intended primarily no doubt for their contemporaries in age, will be read with equal pleasure by older readers. The characters are sketched with real vitality, and the Irish nursemaid whose blunder forms the foundation of the plot, has as human an actuality in her mixture of ignorance and devotion as the little charges whose adventure so narrowly escapes a tragical ending. How the baby-hero of the tale reawakens the long dried-up spring of natural affection in the stern old dame on whose care and protection he is accidentally thrown is told with a simple force of spontaneous pathos, and the Christmas which opens with a dismal tragedy of errors, closes with the rejoicings of the season intensified by reconciliation and reunion.

The Three Little Kings. By EMMY GIEHRL. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1897.—The royal party to which we are introduced in these pages does not consist of the scions of the reigning families of Europe, but of three little German peasant-boys, who, in accordance with a poetic custom prevailing in some of the rural districts, wander about from house to house between the Epiphany and Candlemas, dressed as the three kings, and singing Christmas carols in return for small gratuities. The tour of the youthful minstrels is successful up to a certain point, when exposure and bad weather bring the youngest and best loved of the party nearly to death's door, but as he is in the meantime instrumental in warning the inmates of a neighbouring castle of a plot for robbery and arson, he is saved by their devoted nursing, and profits by the education bestowed as a recompense to become a priest.

Good Reading about many Books. Mostly by their Authors, London: Fisher Unwin. 1897-98.—This prettily illustrated volume is a sample of the style of composite literature so much in vogue at the present day. It consists of skilfully chosen extracts of an episodical character from the works of forty-three authors, including John Oliver Hobbes, George Augustus Sala, Lord Ernest Hamilton, and others,

with the portrait and signature of each contributor prefixed and appended. The result is a very agreeable selection of light reading, with a certain critical and comparative interest, from the materials afforded for forming a rapid and superficial judgment of the authors represented.

Bruno and Lucy. From the German of WILHELM HERCHENBACH. London: Burns & Oates. 1898.—This new volume of the "Granville Library" is quite worthy of its predecessors, and children will hang entranced on the adventures and escapes of the little hero and heroine among the rocks and caves of the island of Madeira, the picturesque-ness of whose scenery gives a romantic setting to the tale. A serpent in female form enters this Paradise in the shape of a poor relation of Lucy's father, Lord Harding, and after poisoning his mind against Bruno, his protégé, attempts to get rid of the remaining obstacle to the success of her machinations by a plot for the abduction and eventual murder of Lucy. Her calculations are frustrated by the reappearance of the restored Babes in the Wood at an opportune moment, and persecuted innocence triumphs over the wiles and pitfalls of iniquity in satisfactory accordance with the laws of poetical justice.

The Châtelaine of the Roses. By MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN. Philadelphia: Kilner & Co. (Undated).—Mr. Egan has already made for himself a sufficient number of friends and readers in this country to secure a welcome for anything he writes. In the four short tales included in the present work he has taken for each an historical background—in the two first France under the later Valois and the earlier Bourbons, and for the two last America in the days of Miles Standish and Benjamin Franklin. The scions of the Irish house of O'Neil figure in different generations as the heroes of the French episodes, illustrating that sympathy between the two Celtic races which has given Irish exiles so safe an asylum, and France so many gallant soldiers to fight her battles. The stories are mainly intended for juvenile readers, although the *dramatis personæ* in the "Châtelaine of the Roses" have all attained to years of discretion.

St. Patrick: His Life, His Heroic Virtues, His Labours, and the Fruit of His Labours. By Very Rev. DEAN KINANE, P.P.V.G. London: Washbourne, Paternoster Row.—This little book, highly recommended by ecclesiastical authorities, has reached an eighth edition. Drawn largely from legend and tradition, and written for popular and devotional use, it is not yet free from many misprints and other inaccuracies, and is disfigured by a dislike for England, which

might at least be dissembled in a book meant for spiritual reading. What is the use of boasting that not a single drop of English blood flowed in St. Patrick's veins (p. 33)? Even if he was born in what is now England, no one ever yet claimed him as an Anglo-Saxon. The Dean describes Pope Zachary as punishing St. Virgilius by appointing him Bishop of Saltzburg (p. 245), and seems to suppose there was a Catholic France in the fourth century (p. 29).

The Taming of Polly. By ELLA LORAINÉ DORSEY. Benziger Bros., New York, Cincinnati, Chicago.—To judge by the account of her early doings, Polly wanted taming badly! A young lady who uses the slang that is here described and rides home standing on horseback like a circus-girl, and firing off pistols like Buffalo Bill, is certainly a fit subject for taming. How the process is accomplished may be profitably and pleasantly learned in these pages. The story is distinctively Catholic and American. Indians, scouts, scalps and squaws, and the heroes of the Civil War play a prominent part. It is delightful to meet again the old companions of our youth, this time in such good company. The tale is pathetic in parts, always interesting, and its Americanisms sometimes amazing. What is meant by the two following phrases, both on the very first page? "One voice seemed to be doing the *potential* mood all by itself." "His beady eyes more *bias* than ever." J. J. C.

The Life of Our Ladye. Compiled from approved sources. By M. P. London: Kegan Paul. 1896.—Cardinal Vaughan says in the preface with which he introduces this graceful narrative of Our Lady's life, that "if it shall kindle love for Mary, it will have served its purpose." Nothing that calls attention, in a proper spirit of devotion and reverence, to the most wonderful and mysterious life ever lived upon earth by a purely human creature can fail to do this; and the present narrative puts before us in a new and interesting form facts on which we can never think too much or too deeply. The inspired record is amplified by all that tradition and pious belief have added from the earliest ages; while the facts are elucidated and explained in accordance with the most authoritative commentaries, and their recital is vivified by simple and graphic descriptions of the places which were the scene of their occurrence. The volume is a compendium, in succinct and agreeable form, of all that can be gleaned on the most august and interesting of subjects.

A Round Table of the Representative American Catholic Novelists. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1897.—American

genius, with the fresh piquancy of its new point of view, has made itself so prominent an element in English letters, that we are glad to welcome a volume which brings before us the not inconsiderable part played by our co-religionists in bringing about this result. To the eleven tales or novelettes, by as many representative authors, forming the "Round Table," is appended a portrait and short biographical sketch of each, together with a list of his or her principal works. We greet with pleasure among the names those of such old friends as Miss Eleanor Donnelly, Father Finn, S.J., and Maurice Francis Egan; while we are no less gratified at making acquaintance with others, whose equally high reputation among their own compatriots the present volume will help to extend to this side of the Atlantic. A high literary level is maintained in all the stories comprised in it, and its attractive form and contents render it well suited for a birthday or Christmas present, either for young or old.

Passing Shadows. By ANTHONY YORKE. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1897.—This graceful sketch of a side of life in New York which has been hitherto little touched on in fiction, can safely be recommended to readers of all ages, from its thoroughly Catholic tone and healthy domestic interest. The romance which gilds comparatively humble lives when "Love takes up the glass of time" casts its never-failing spell over the pages that recount the courtship of Jack Fulton and Gabrielle Crystal. English ideas of life and manners evidently require to be adjusted to Transatlantic standards when they are confronted, as in this volume, with a society in which a letter-carrier and his friends are found familiarly quoting Wordsworth and Matthew Arnold, and sustaining conversations quite on a level with those of the most cultured persons portrayed in our insular fiction.

Books Received.

Ecce Homo. Second Edition. Rev. D. G. Hubert. London: R. Washbourne. 8vo, pp. 208.

Sir Hudson Lowe and Napoleon. R. C. Seaton. London: David Nutt. 1898. 8vo, pp. 236.

Songs and Sonnets and other Poems. Maurice Fr. Egan. Chicago: A. C. McClury & Co. 1892. 8vo, pp. 201.

The Confessions of St. Augustine. Newly translated with Notes and Introduction by C. Bigg, D.D. London: Methuen & Co. 1898. 12mo, pp. 28-331. Price 2s.

Silhouettes d'Apôtres: Neuvaine à St. François Xavier. P. Aloys Pottier, S.J. Paris: Douniol. 1898. 12mo, pp. 281. Price 2 frs.

La Révérend Père Jean Caubert, S.J. Notice Biographique. Le R. P. Pierre Luras, S.J. Paris: Douniol. 1898. 12mo, pp. 239. Price 2 frs.

La Chartreuse de N. D. Sous-Ombre. L'Abbé Crozat. Paris: Téqui. 1897. 8vo, pp. 442. Price 3 frs. 50.

Sermons for the Children of Mary. Rev. Ferdinand Callerio. New York: Benziger Bros. 1898. 8vo, pp. 343. Price \$1.50.

Catholic Truth Society's Publications. Twenty-seven Pamphlets and Tracts. Authors various.

Catholic Biographies: Bishop Milner and others (eight Biographies). Rev. Edwin H. Burton. London: Catholic Truth Society. 1898. 12mo. Price 1s.

Some Protestant Fictions Exposed. Second Series. Authors various. London: Catholic Truth Society. 1898. 12mo. Price 1s.

The New Utopia. Augusta Theodora Drane. London: Catholic Truth Society. 12mo, pp. 179. Price 1s. 6d.

- Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène: Souvenirs de Betzy Balcombe.**
Translated by Aimé Le Gras. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie.
1898. 8vo, pp. 270.
- Storm Bound: A Romance of Shell Beach.** Eleanor C. Donnelly. Philadelphia: Kilner & Co. 1898. 8vo, pp. 218.
- What is Socialism?** Scotsburn. London: Isbister & Co. 1898. 8vo, pp. 430. Price 7s. 6d.
- How to Comfort the Sick.** From original of Rev. Jos. Aloysius Krebs, C.S.S.R. New York: Benziger Bros. 1898. 12mo, pp. 303. Price \$1.
- Meditations on the Seven Words of Our Lord on the Cross.** Rev. Chas. Perraud. Introduction by Cardinal Perraud. New York: Benziger Bros. 1898. 12mo, pp. xvi.-175. Price 50 cts.
- The Month of Our Lady.** From Italian of Rev. J. F. Mullany, LL.D. New York: Benziger Bros. 1898. 12mo, pp. 342. Price 75 cts.
- Life of the Very Rev. Father Dominic of the Mother of God, Passionist.** Rev. Pius Devine. London: R. Washbourne. 1898. 12mo, pp. 297.
- Life of St. Patrick.** William Bullen Morris. London: Burns & Oates. 1898. 8vo, pp. xv.-302.
- The History of Our Own Times in South Africa (1880-1888).** Volume II. Hon. Alex. Wilmot, K.S.G. London: Juta & Co. 1898. 8vo, pp. 362.
- Souvenirs du Général Cte. Fleury (1859-1867).** Volume II. Paris: Librairie Plon. 1898. 8vo, pp. 398.
- The Mummy's Dream: An Egyptian Story of the Exodus.** H. B. Proctor. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 1898. 8vo, pp. 257.
- Père Monnier's Ward.** Walter Lecky. New York: Benziger Bros. 1898. 8vo, pp. 304.
- The Holy Sacrifice: A Short Manual of Worship and Prayer for Use at Holy Communion Service.** Frank Weston. London: Methuen & Co. 1898. 12mo, pp. 68.
- The People's Mission Book.** Fr. M. F., Missionary Priest. New York: Benziger Bros. 1897. 32mo, pp. 128. Price 10 cts.

- The Five Maries: A Play for Girls.** Mary T. Robertson.
London: Burns & Oates. 1898. 32mo, pp. 56. Price 1s.
- To Teach the Negro to Sing.** John Stephens Durham, B.S.,
C.E. Philadelphia: D. Mackay. 1898. 12mo, pp. 48.
- Christian Carols of Love and Life.** Eleanor C. Donnelly.
Philadelphia: Kilner & Co. 1898. 12mo, pp. 54.
- The Christian Doctrine of Sacerdotium.** Rev. N. Dimock,
M.A. London: Elliot Stock. 1897. 8vo, pp. 114. Price
3s. net.
- A Compilation on the Glebe Loan Question in Ireland.**
Rev. John Curry, P.P. Dublin: Browne & Nolan. 1898.
8vo, pp. 96.
- St. Francis de Sales as a Preacher.** Very Rev. Canon Mackey,
O.S.B. London: Burns & Oates. 1898. 8vo, pp. 84.
- The World Well Lost.** Esther Robertson. New York: Benziger
Bros. 1898. 12mo, pp. 182.
- The Prodigal's Daughter and other Tales.** Lelia Hardin Bugg.
New York: Benziger Bros. 1898. 12mo, pp. 255. Price
\$1.
- The Romance of a Playwright.** Vte. Henri de Bornier.
Translated from French by Mary McMahon. New York:
Benziger Bros. 1898. 12mo, pp. 226. Price \$1.
- La Marquise de Crenay, une amie de la reine Hortense.**
H. Thirria. Paris: Th. J. Plange. 1898. 8vo, pp. 230.
- Autour de l'Histoire. Scènes et Récits.** Mgr. Baunard.
Paris: Librairie Poussielgue. 1898. 8vo, pp. 376.
- Pickle and Pepper.** Ella Loraine Dorsey. New York: Benziger
Bros. 1898. 8vo, pp. 238. Price 85 cts.
- The Cid Ballads.** James Young Gibson. Edited by Margaret
Dunlop Gibson. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner &
Co. 1898. 8vo, pp. 605. Price 12s.
- A Critical Examination of Butler's Analogy.** Rev. Henry
Hughes, M.A. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.
1898. 8vo, pp. 276. Price 6s.
- Contemplations and Meditations for Feasts of the Blessed
Virgin and the Saints.** Translated from French by a Sister

- of Mercy. London: Burns & Oates. 1898. 12mo, pp. 246. Price 3s.
- Dante's Ten Heavens: A Study of Paradise.** Edmund G. Gardner, M.A. Westminster: Constable & Co. 1898. 8vo, pp. 310. Price 12s.
- The Christian Year.** John Keble. London: Methuen & Co. 1898. 12mo, pp. 310. Price 2s.
- Sister Anne Katharine Emmerich of the Order of St. Augustine.** Rev. Thos. Wegener, O.S.A. Translated from French Edition by Rev. F. X. McGowan, O.S.A. New York: Benziger Bros. 1898. 8vo, pp. 317. Price \$1.50.
- Notes on St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans.** Joseph Rickaby, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1898. 8vo, pp. 450.
- Biblische Studien nochmals der Biblische Schöpfungsbericht.** Band III. Heft 2. Fr. v. Hummelauer, S.J. Freiburg-im-Breisgau: Herder. 1898. 8vo, pp. 132. Price 2m.80.
- Die Mysterien des Christenthums.** Dr. Matth. Jos. Scheeben. Freiburg-im-Breisgau: Herder. 1898. 8vo, pp. 714.
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